

SURVEYING POST-1204 ARTA: ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE FIRST
CAPITAL OF THE DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS (1200-1330s)

A Master's Thesis

by
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SURVEYING POST-1204 ARTA: ART AND ARCHITECTURE
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Bilkent University 2022

Department of Archaeology
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
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For the bright star



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CAPITAL OF THE DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS (1200-1330s)

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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ANKARA

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By Gözde Yıldız

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope
and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology.

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ABSTRACT

SURVEYING POST-1204 ARTA: ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS (1200-1330s)

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September 2022

This thesis explores the outflow of aristocratic families from Constantinople following the Fourth Crusade in 1204 to Epirus and the impact of this population movement on architecture and art in Epirus' capital city, Arta. The patronage and motivations of the said families in the architectural developments, iconographic programs and messaging in Arta are examined, by way of reviewing the material evidence against the background of the political developments involving Epirus in the thirteenth century.

After the introductory first chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on the contemporary and other sources regarding the historical background on the events of the fourth crusade and its aftermath, particularly in the region of Epirus. The chapter will also include the brief overview of Epirus before and after 1204, in the thirteenth century. The focus of the Chapter 3 is on art and architecture in Arta. The developments in monumental architecture are reviewed against the historical context, with an aim of tracing the changes in the patronage and motivations of the Epirote rulers and aristocracy during

the thirteenth century. The conclusion provides the summary of findings of the research.

Elevation of Epiros' political and military status in the thirteenth century that manifested itself in the quest of its rulers to first take over Constantinople, and then to achieve and maintain independence created a context which boosted the architectural activities and art. With a mix of Constantinopolitan and western influences, and with themes ranging from attempts to re-create the atmosphere of Constantinople to creating something entirely new in the independent Epirus, the ruling, ecclesiastic and aristocratic families sought to seek legitimacy, garner support, announce their ambitions and promote their agenda.

Key words: Epirus, the Fourth Crusade, 1204, thirteenth century, Arta

ÖZET

1204 SONRASI ARTA: EPİR DESPOTLUĞU'NUN İLK BAŞKENTİ ARTA'DA SANAT VE MİMARİ (1200-1330)

Yıldız, Gözde

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1204 yılında gerçekleşen Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nin ardından Konstantinopolis'ten ayrılan veya kaçan aristokrat ailelerin Epir'e gitmesiyle gerçekleşen nüfus hareketi sonucunda Despotluğun yeni başkenti Arta'nın sanat ve mimarisini etkilemiştir. Tez, bu etkileri araştırarak Arta'da gelişen kilise mimarisini ve kiliselerin resim prgramlarını incelemektedir. 13. yüzyıl Epir Despotluğu'nda süregelen siyasi gelişmeler arka planda tutularak, Epir'e yerleşen bu ailelerin motivasyonları arkeolojik ve mimari materyallerle desteklenmiştir.

Giriş bölümünden sonra gelen tezin ikinci kısmı Epir bölgesinin Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi (1204) öncesini ve sonrasını tarihsel olarak incelemekte olup dönemin yazarlarından ve güncel araştırmalardan da söz edilmiştir. Tezin üçüncü kısmında ise Arta'daki sanat ve mimariye odaklanılmıştır. Özellikle kilise mimarisindeki gelişmeler, Epir hükümdarlarının ve aristokrat ailelerin motivasyonları ile

iliřkilendirilmiř, tarihsel baęlamda incelenmiřtir. Tezin sonu blm ise yapılan arařtırmanın ve verilerin bir zetini sunmaktadır.

Epir hkmdarlarının eski bařkent Konstantinopolis'i yeniden ele geirme iřteęi, 13. Yzyılda Despotluęu hem askeri anlamda hem de siyasi anlamda glendirmiř ve bu baęlamda mimari ve sanat faaliyetleri de aktif olarak devam etmiřtir. Konstantinopolis ve batı etkilerinin grldę Epir sanat ve mimarisinde Konstantinopolis'e pek ok ynden atıf yapılarak Epir hkmdarları baęlılıklarını ifade etmiřlerdir. Arta'da yeniden yaratılmaya alıřılan eski bařkent, Despotluk'a g etmiř ynetici, aristokrat ve ruhban sınıfının meřruiyet kazanma iřteęini tetiklemiřtir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Epir, Drdnc Halı Seferi, 1204, 13. yzyıl, Arta

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of human civilization is unimaginable without the movement of people. In essence, human history is the history of migration. Whether by choice or not, people move, sometimes through large distances and sometimes in numbers that end up significantly altering the situation both in their lands of origin and the lands of arrival.

From prehistoric times to today, migration has consistently taken place and in today's world of borders and border controls, despite all the technological advances, it continues to be unstoppable. According to the International Organization for Migration, in 2020, 3.6% of the global population – 281 million people - were migrants. As of 2021, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are 89,3 million forcibly displaced persons in the world. This number has been increasing in the last decade due to conflicts in Syria, Venezuela, South Sudan, Afghanistan and Myanmar. As the conflict in Ukraine continues, the number of refugees from Ukraine is approaching 5 million and an additional 7 million are estimated to be displaced within Ukraine. If the percentages of the populations on the move in the modern era of overall unprecedented stability (bar some recent conflicts) are this high, it is fair to expect the rate of migrations, voluntary and forced, to have been at a proportionally much higher level (relative to population size at the time) in significantly more volatile periods of human history with correspondingly more significant impact.

Population movements are not easy to analyze and classify. They have been and continue to be caused by political, economic, or environmental reasons. They can be temporary or permanent. They can be local or international, even inter-continental. They can be voluntary or forced – refugee movements and slavery being the most extreme cases. There are numerous examples of how large-scale population movements have forever changed the demographic, political, and social landscapes. Tracing, understanding, and explaining such changes in history is where archaeology has increasingly become more and more recognized as a discipline that can complement and, in some cases, correct the information gleaned from historiographical sources.

The role of migrations as a factor affecting the transformation of cultural distributions has long been discussed in archaeology. Ideas about this factor's importance have naturally evolved over time, as has archaeology itself. For a relatively long time, in particular within the culture-historical paradigm of the first half of the 20th c., migration was seen as a simple explanation for complex transformations observed in settlement patterns and material culture. What is more, the phenomenon was considered self-evident and in itself requiring no explanation regarding its causes, mechanisms, and manifold effects (Przybyła, 2020: 15). From the archaeological perspective this is important, since these studies are an obvious first point of reference for interpretations of phenomena detectable in the archaeological record. As regards theoretical reflection, the discussion has been and still is focused around such issues as the shaping of the sense of identity, acculturation processes, and the transformation of old cultural patterns and formation of new ones (Przybyła, 2020: 16).

It is easy to fall back on using migration as singular large-scale events serving as an explanation for social or cultural change. Migrations can be used to explain instances of transfer of ideas and economic growth, or, in other contexts, of instability, chaos and conflict. Intended impact is complemented by the unintended consequences of a large-scale movement. One must be careful, however, not to “over-assign” collective agency to population groups on the move as the members of the group have different motivations, purposes, and impact. As such, group movements, even when their impact seems obvious, should not be seen independent of the individual or local agency of the members of the group, and the big picture understanding should factor in the variations in intentions and actions of the members of the population on the move.

For research into migrations, archaeological theory continues to be a “work in progress”. In terms of methodologies, it is reasonably clear that interpretation based only on material evidence leaves room for errors in interpretation. Therefore, in historical periods at least combining the analysis of the archaeological finds with historical sources is a given. In addition, the increasingly utilized scientific methods, including bioarchaeology and biogeoeconomics add much value in correcting interpretations offered by more traditional methods. Thus, the analysis of all available evidence that allows for review of the change in material culture, of pottery, clothing, foodstuff, etc., can offer explanations as to the nature of such change (van Dommelen 2014: 479).

This brings us to the question of the role of migration in effecting change. The simplistic definition of migration as movement of a group of people across distance fails to capture the impact of migration on the culture of the area and society of destination. At

the same time, migration, while certainly a factor in cultural change, may not always cause it or may not be the reason, or the only reason for it. Establishing such a causal link continues to be a challenge in theory and in practice. The significance in understanding the impact of migration on cultural change is closely connected to the issue of identity and the way migration transforms the identity of the receiving society in many ways. It can be positive, for example in the form of transfer of ideas, behaviors and social capital, or contribution to the economy of the receiving community. It can also be negative, create tensions and affect social cohesion, forcing the receiving community to re-define their identities.

The events triggering migration are also an important factor in the change that migration ends up causing. For example, an environmental event could push the entirety of a population to move, while a political one could perhaps cause the movement of a particular ethnic, religious or a social (elites or non-elites) group.

Diaspora studies research population movements involving cohesive groups which seek to maintain connection to the land of origin and its people, but also adapt to the life in the new place of residence. Migration does not necessarily produce a diaspora; however, diasporas are never formed without a migration. (Knutson, 2020: 1) The term itself has gained a broader meaning and is linked to the immigrants, refugees, exiled or displaced people in different contexts. It can be also used for the communities who somewhat integrated into their host countries both socially and politically and at the same time continue to be connected to their homelands however distant, imagined or real (Pechurina 2020: 11). Diaspora implies, as a minimum, a connection to the original

home, shared experiences involving members of the group and a collective cultural consciousness. Traditionally used in the context of the Jewish community, it gradually evolved to be applied to a variety of population movements, from aboriginal communities moving across continents and medieval expansion of Scandinavian Vikings, to the more modern European immigration to the USA, establishment of Chinese communities outside China, and with regard to the Palestinian, Armenian and other groups (Knutson, 2020: 2). The concept of a diaspora is a framework that helps explain common identity of people who may have moved to and settled in different parts of the world but share common origin and culture. It also implies an evolution of the identity to include the elements of both the original, as well as the new host community. The application of this framework in archaeological practice may help avoid simplistic or overgeneralized claims about the cultural origins of populations.

As it is mentioned earlier, the objects that are used inside the house and even the food itself starting from its preparation, has its own meaning of identity highlighting the identity of the immigrants, and where they feel they belong. They are also referred to as diasporic objects where these objects are referred to being powerful and reflecting *emotional geographies of migration* by Vanni (Vanni, 2013: 151). The objects of diaspora represent detachment and attachment, both old home and the new home, part here and part there.

Studying diasporas in the material record offers interesting perspectives in terms of interdisciplinary research, where traditional archaeological studies, analysis of DNA and isotopic evidence, network analysis combined with the exploration of collective

cultural memory, oral histories and cultural heritage offers interesting opportunities for future research.

One of the most significant event in medieval history that caused notable migrations was the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The movement of aristocratic families from Constantinople to east and west, while not as significant as previously thought (Tricht, 2011: 32-38) had a significant impact on the political dynamics in the territories of the Byzantine empire.

The Fourth Crusade effectively put an end to the Empire of the Romans in the shape that it existed in the east since its foundation in the fourth century AD. As the empire was being divided in the immediate aftermath, many claimed to be the successors or the legitimate heirs of the empire, and as such, holders of the title of the Roman emperor. Although it was agreed among the Crusader forces that the empire was to be divided, the initial designs were not successful. At the beginning, “the rule of the Latins” produced the Latin Empire centered in Constantinople, the Kingdom of Thessalonica, the Duchy of Athens, the Duchy of the Archipelago, and the Principality of Achaia, all states in the Greek provinces of the Aegean are all established by the crusaders. The Latin rule was accompanied by the Venetian rule over a number of islands.

Since the Latin forces were not in a position to control the entirety of the territory of the empire, the aristocratic Byzantine families divided the remaining lands to the east and west of Constantinople. Epirus in the west, which is the focus of this thesis, was

one of the three successor states to the empire. The other successor states were Nicaea and Trebizond in the east (Georgiadou, 2015: 4).

Epirus, coming from the Greek name meaning the land without end, is a name used since antiquity, replaced only during Roman times by *Vetus* or *Nova* during Roman times (Veikou, 2012: 19). Surrounded by sea on the west and south and by high mountains on the north and east, its geography promotes a spirit of independence. The geography of Byzantine Epirus comprised today's northwestern Greek mainland and southern Albania. It is a rugged mountainous landscape with rivers providing access from inland to the surrounding Ionian Sea in the west and the gulfs to the south. The area is dominated by the Pindus mountains in the east, which act as a natural border with Western Macedonia and Thessaly. To the south, the border goes to the mouth of the River Mornos in the north side of the Gulf of Corinth (Veikou, 2012: 21). Overall, the geography of Epirus dictated the administrative division of the area. The mountain massifs effectively divided the area into several zones crossed by fluvial systems (Mornos, Evinos, Acheloos, Arachthos, Louros, Kokytos and Kalamas) from the Pindus mountains down to the sea to the north, south and west (Ionian Sea, Ambracian Gulf, Gulf of Patras and Gulf of Corinth). The mountainous nature of the area creates difficulties in access and turns Epirus into a separate region, which explains its isolated character since antiquity. This is also why Epirus' economy had to be designed in a way that it provided for itself, albeit with a low standard of living. This geography also accounts for the region's almost exclusively pastoral economy (including fishing and hunting) (Veikou, 2012: 22).

The Comnenian family, consisting of Alexios I Comnenos and his brother David, fled to the southeast coast of the Black Sea and established the Empire of Trebizond. The Empire of Nicaea was established by Theodore I Laskaris who declared himself emperor in 1206. It was the Nicaean emperor Michael VIII who took control of Constantinople and established the Palaiologan dynasty which ruled till 1453 (Georgiadou, 2015: 4).

The Despotate of Epiros, which is the focus of this thesis, was a contender to take over the capital between 1205-1230. After 1230 and the Epirote defeat at the hand of the Bulgarians at Klokotnitsa, the focus of the rulers of Epiros turned inward. The focus of this thesis is on Arta, the capital of the Despotate of Epiros, its architecture and art right after the 4th Crusade with the influx of elites and aristocratic families from Constantinople or who were already living there. The period covers the thirteenth century, and it will look into the internal diaspora of the Byzantine and how it manifested its aspirations, intentions and propaganda through art and architecture.

The case of Epirus offers a striking example of how a dramatic event (the sack of Constantinople in 1204) triggered displacement of specific categories of the population which greatly influenced the politics, but also architecture and art in Epirus. While similar movements and influence was also observed in Nicaea and Trebizond, in this thesis the focus is on the developments in Epirus.

A number of research questions can be posed against the background of the developments in Epirus in the aftermath of 1204 and the related arrival of the

aristocratic families in Epirus. What was the impact of the migration on the transformation the region of Epirus underwent during this period?

As architecture and art flourished in Epirus, particularly in Arta, in the thirteenth century to what extent was the above-mentioned migration of the aristocratic families a factor in these changes? A balanced review of the material as well as the historical evidence is necessary to understand the reasons for these changes. How did the patronage and motivations behind the architectural developments, related iconographic programs and messaging, reflect the political changes that were taking place in and around Epirus during the thirteenth century? As the focus of the thesis is on Arta, what was the influence of the Constantinopolitan style on architecture and art in Arta?

This introductory chapter is followed by chapter 2 which examines the contemporary and other sources regarding the historical background on the events of the fourth crusade and its aftermath, particularly in the region of Epirus. The chapter will also include the brief history of Epirus before and after 1204. The overview of the events affecting Epirus after 1204 provides a summary of the political developments involving the Despotate of Epirus in the thirteenth century.

In chapter 3 the focus shifts to art and architecture in Arta in the thirteenth century. The developments in monumental architecture are reviewed against the background provided in chapter 2, tracing the changes in the patronage and motivations of the Epirote rulers and aristocracy reflecting the changes in the political realities in and around the Despotate.

The conclusion provides the summary of the findings and the analysis, aiming to provide as much clarity as possible to issues raised in the research questions.



CHAPTER 2

SOURCES, EPIRUS BEFORE AND AFTER 1204

2.1 Sources

The primary sources related to Epirus after 1204 include the correspondence of John Apokaukos, *metropolitan* of Naupaktos (in office c.1200 to c.1230), who wrote about the situation of the Byzantine population under Latins as well as about the conflicts between Epirus and the Latin rulers of Thessaloniki in his letters to the various prominent personalities of his time, including Demetrios Chomatianos, Theodore Doukas and his wife Maria, other metropolitans, officials and others, providing information regarding the political and social life in Epirus during the rule of Michael I Komnenos Doukas and Theodore Komnenos Doukas (Angold, 1995: 213-231, Van Tricht, 2011: 11; Fundic, 2022: 8). Apokaukos had a complicated relationship with the Epirote rulers, but generally enjoyed their support in his struggles with the patriarch in Nicaea. This support was reciprocated because the Epirote rulers needed his supportive voice in their quest for legitimacy of their imperial ambitions (Angold, 1995: 213-231).

There is also correspondence of Demetrios Chomatianos, the Archbishop of Ohrid (in office c.1216-c.1236), who makes references to confrontations between Epiros (Theodore Doukas), Nicaea and the Latin Empire. His writings include canonistic correspondence, documents, synodal acts, and judicial decisions on cases and queries brought before his court, mostly marriage and property disputes. (Angold, 1995: 241, Van Tricht, 2011: 12). Chomatianos' writings have been studied in depth by Gunter Prinzing (in Demetrios Chomatianos, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora*, ed. Gunter Prinzing, Berlin and New York: 2002) and remain significant because in

addition to being a source of information about Epirus, the collection of legal cases (nearly 150) he left behind also provides a glimpse into the Byzantine legal framework at the time. In 1227, Chomatianos was the one who crowned Theodore at Thessaloniki (Angold, 1995: 240).

Another important source are the letters of George Bardanes, *metropolitan* of Corfu (in office 1219-c.1240). (Fundic, 2022: 8). Bardanes was Apokaukos' closest friend, and just as Apokaukos, was closely related to the rulers of Epirus (Angold, 1995: 232-239).

All three of the above personalities, John Apokaukos, Demetrios Chomatianos and George Bardanes were champions of Epirote attempts to gain political and ecclesiastical independence, as such, since they were closely associated with the Epirote rulers and defended their interests, these should not be seen as representing the totality of the Byzantine view of the situation after 1204 (Van Tricht 2011: 12) For example, Demetrios Chomatianos, whose writing aimed at advancing the legitimacy of the Epirote rulers, expressed that half of the refugees from Constantinople moved to the territories under control of Epirus. However, some of these had moved to Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, which for some time were under the Latin control, hence, the intention of such families may not initially have been to move outside the Latin territories (Van Tricht, 2011: 31-32).

There is a lack of chronicles and historiographic works from Epiros for the period under review, therefore prosopographical data is lacking on the higher echelons of the Epirote government (Nicol, 1976: 10; Prinzing, 2016: 85).

Among the modern sources, of note is Donald M. Nicol's *The Despotate of Epiros* monograph (1957) which was the first comprehensive history of Epirus between 1204-1261. Nicol's 1984 work covers the history of Epirus between 1267-1479. Additional information on the history of Epirus after 1204 is found in sources focusing on the Fourth Crusade and fall of Constantinople, or sources on the history of the Byzantine empire, or the Byzantine states in Nicaea or Trebizond, including Michael Angold's works and Antony Eastmond's *Art and Identity in Thirteenth Century Byzantium*.

In addition, there are written sources related to Epirus in Greek, Latin or Old French, and that originate from outside Epirus, mostly include chronicles, letters (including both secular and ecclesiastical correspondence), and judicial decisions. Moreover, important sources are the inscriptions, lead-seals, and hagiographic texts (Prinzing, 2016: 84).

However, there are many studies on the existing material evidence that are worth exploring. There are studies of the many church buildings, monasteries, and castles that were built during the thirteenth century as a part of the intense building activity of the Despotate. A comprehensive archaeological survey of the area was also conducted covering until the twelfth century by Myrto Veikou; I will return to this in the next section. As a part of archaeological excavations, mainly rescue excavations, many ceramics, coins and relief sculptured were brought to light.

Medieval Byzantine monuments in Epirus were the focus of the research by A.Orlandos, continued by P. Vokotopoulos. Between 1967-1972, P. Vokotopoulos has conducted studies of the architecture, art and the artistic output of Epirus in the 13th

century, publishing books on Byzantine Arta, Icons in Arta and Blacherna Monastery. Of note are also M. Acheimastou-Potamianou's monograph on the Vlacherna monastery, G. Velenis' work on architecture of the Blacherna monastery in Arta and D. Giannoulis' book *Byzantine Painting in Arta* (Fundic, 2022: 8-9). One of the latest additions to the sources on the topic is Leonela Fundic' *Art, Power, and Patronage in the Principality of Epirus, 1204-1318*.

2.2. Epirus before 1204

The name Epirus was used for the Western Greek mainland from antiquity. Under emperor Trajan it became the name of the province of *Epirus Vetus* (Old Epirus). Emperor Diocletian introduced *Epirus Nova* (New Epirus) and these provinces later formed Epirus of the Byzantine empire (Veikou, 2012: 19). There is little information about the last decades of Roman power in the Balkans. By early seventh century, there are what appears to be traces of Avar and Slav raids in all of the region from the coast to Thessaloniki (Curta, 2016: 70, Osswald, 2007: 128).

An intensive survey was conducted by Myrto Veikou in the region covering the seventh to twelfth centuries. She aimed to observe the changes in settlements by looking into the topography, then supplementing the findings with texts and other material evidence (Veikou, 2012: 4). The study presents an overview on the developments in the region, rather than a discussion of transition. What we see are multilayered changes at different speeds and throughout the Late Antique and Middle Ages.

The historical evidence from the seventh to twelfth centuries is scarce (Veikou, 2012: 39) but based on the information available, it seems like Epirus saw the establishment of the first Slavic settlements by migrating Slavs in the late sixth-seventh centuries

(Kazhdan, 1991: 715). Beginning in the eighth century, Byzantine empire re-established control over the region, starting with the creation of the themes of Dyrrachium (mod. (Durazzo) and Nikopolis. Nikopolis was the ecclesiastical center of Epirus until early ninth century, after which this role was taken over by Naupaktos (Kazhdan, vol1, 1991: 715-716). In the ninth and tenth centuries Epirus was part of the first Bulgarian empire, with Ohrid as a capital (Osswald, 2007: 128).

In addition to the Slav invasions from the north and north-east, from the sea, there were raids by Arab tribes, but this only lasted until the tenth century (Veikou, 2012: 39). From the tenth to the twelfth centuries Epirus was witness to continuous military operations. It was mostly controlled by the Byzantine Empire; however, there were disputes over the borders by different groups like Arabs, Bulgarians, Oghuz and Franks (Veikou, 2012: 39).

During this period, the name Epirus continued to denote the geographical area and in the ninth-twelfth centuries administration of the area was organized with the *Themes* of Nikopolis, Kephallenia, Dyrrachion and possibly Vagenetia. Epirus was part of the area called *Dysis* (West) within the Byzantine empire (Veikou, 2012: 20).

As a border province of the Byzantine empire, Epirus was continuously an area claimed by foreign armies only to be recovered by the Byzantines. There always seems to have been insecurity and war in Epirus and such an unstable environment affected the living conditions of the residents during the Middle Byzantine period (Veikou, 2012: 39). While the continued insecurity and violence probably delayed the economic development of Epirus, these conditions, coupled with the geographical realities of the

region led the population of the land to develop ways of being self-sufficient (Veikou, 2012: 40).

Epirus has been a place for population movement and transfers; and there were many ethnic and cultural groups present in this region (Veikou, 2012: 42). The majority of the population consisted of the indigenous, Christian Orthodox, Greek speaking residents named Ῥωμαῖοι; however they are referred to as Γραικοί or Ἕλληνες in the thirteenth century texts. There was also a Slavic population. They had integrated into the Greek community by the tenth century, however, although they stayed loyal to some of their traditions and customs until the early thirteenth century (Veikou, 2012: 42).

The ninth century witnessed deliberate transfers of populations by the decisions of the Byzantine emperors (Veikou, 2012: 42). By the early thirteenth century, according to contemporary documents or hagiographies, Epirus hosted Hagarens¹, Ishmaelites, Vlachs, Bulgarians, Venetians, and Armenians. There was also a significant Jewish community, including in Arta, as confirmed by Demetrios Chomatianos (Veikou, 2012: 44; Sakellariou, 1997: 189-196). Already by the thirteenth century there were Jewish and Armenian quarters in towns (Veikou, 2012: 46).

Epirus also saw its share of conflict in the period after the Slavic and Arab invasions. During the First Norman invasion of the Balkans (1081-1085), Norman forces took control of Dyrrachium and Corfu, and captured Ioannina. Norman invasions continued until 1186 and by then, the Byzantine empire managed to recover the lands in Epirus (Theotokis, 2014: 3-4).

¹ Hagarens – Comes from the Arabic root migrate; *hajara*.

2.3. Epirus after 1204

The conquest of Constantinople in April 1204 was one of the most significant events of the Middle Ages in Europe. The city of Constantinople was the heart of the Byzantine empire. Everything centered around Constantinople. This was a metropolitan civilization and the citizens relied on Constantinople as the unassailable city that they thought would always be able to repel the enemies that attacked it. The Empire was inconceivable without Constantinople at its center with the political and ecclesiastical authority exercised from the capital. With the fall of Constantinople, the role of the center inevitably declined, and the power was shared with the provinces where new political structures took shape. Those who benefited from this were not only the Franks and Venetians, but also the Byzantine leaders who were able to establish local power bases in Epirus and Asia Minor (Angold, 2014: 125). Division of the lands of the empire was formalized in *Partitio Romaniae*, the document which details the division of the lands apportioned to the Latin emperor, the Venetians, and other Crusaders (Kazhdan, 1991: 1591).

The centrifugal effect of these events led to the creation of multiple power centers across the territory of the empire. While the Byzantine aristocratic families like Comnenos or Doukas did their part in preserving the Byzantine traditions and ideology, the exile still weakened them and inevitably led to the regions developing their specific allegiances, priorities, and paths. The regionalization of power meant competition and conflict. As resources were being used for waging regional wars, continuous disorder was the norm. Changing economic realities contributed to this situation, as did the monastic confederations (Angold, 2014: 214).

The relationship between the Byzantium and the West in the period that led to the events of 1204 can be described as complicated and damaged beyond repair. While the Constantinopolitan nobles had strongly prejudiced views against the Latins, at the same time, there was a considerable number of westerners living in the Byzantine empire, particularly in Constantinople for a variety of economic, political and military reasons (Van Tricht, 2011: 25-26). In addition, the regionalist and separatist tendencies arising from the growing economic independence of the provinces and the diminishing attention of the capital towards the provinces, led to increasing discontent and eventually, compromised territorial integrity of the Byzantine empire (Van Tricht, 2011: 26-27). Van Tricht argues that these latter factors had more significant impact on the situation after 1204, than the negative attitude towards the Latins. (Van Tricht, 2011: 27).

After the fall of Constantinople, the focus of the westerners was on taking a pause and dividing the lands of the Byzantine Empire, especially in the context of the loss of lands in the Middle East to Islamic armies. The lands in Byzantine Greece were part of the redistribution among feudal lords. Some territories, however, remained under the control of Byzantine aristocratic families. Epirus was one such area, controlled by a family of Comnenos Doukas which is a branch of the dynasty of Angeloi (Bintliff, 2012: 397). (Fig. 1) The geography of Epirus promoted self-sufficiency and independence. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the independence of Epirus became a reality.

According to Prinzing's historical outline (2016), the history of Epirus during the Latin rule in Constantinople can be divided into three different phases (1204-1214, 1215-30

and 1231-61) and this classification is mostly based on the political and ecclesiastical events that shaped Epirus during this period. The first one of these phases, 1204-1214 refers to Michael Comnenos Doukas' reign, during which the foundations of the Epirus state were laid. 1215-1230 is the period of Epiros' territorial expansion under Theodore Doukas when the ambition to capture Constantinople was strongest. The period after 1231 refers to the time after Theodore's defeat at Klokotnica when Epirote rulers started moving away from the desire to take control of the Byzantine capital, instead seeking to create their own version of it in their territories. This period ends in 1261 with the Nicaean capture of Constantinople, ending any dreams the Epirote rulers may still have had to take control of the imperial capital. (Map 1)

Referred to as a successor state of the Byzantine Empire, the state of Epirus was more turbulent in terms of political and ecclesiastical events than the other successor states like Trebizond or Nicaea (Prinzing, 2016: 81).

In the northwest of Asia Minor, Nicaea was where another group of Byzantine elites from Constantinople settled. It took Theodore I Laskaris (1208-1221), who was a son-in-law of Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), only a few years to be named emperor of the Romans, establishing a new dynasty and an "empire in exile". The Nicaean empire was ruled by the Laskarid dynasty until 1261 and was the regional power. The next emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos' (1259-1282) who took back Constantinople, established the Palaiologan dynasty, which remained in power till the end of the empire in 1453 (Georgiadou, 2015: 4).

In Trebizond, it was Alexios I Komnenos (1204-1222) and his brother David (d.1212) who founded the local offshoot of the Byzantine empire. Alexios took control of

Trebizond and David took over Paphlagonia. Despite the initial successes, David's advance westwards came to a halt and his plans to reach Constantinople were not realized. Following his death in 1212, the Nicaean empire took over Paphlagonia by 1214. Despite that, the Trebizond empire became one of the regional Byzantine powers for over two centuries until the Ottomans captured its capital in 1461 (Georgiadou 2015: 204).

Right after 1204, the existing Byzantine administrative structures in Epirus (themes of Nikopolis with Naupaktos as its administrative center, as well as Cephallenia and Dyrrhachium) essentially continued to function as it did before the takeover of Constantinople by the Latins (Van Tricht, 2011: 474). While this allowed for continuity, it also empowered regional rulers and encouraged separatist tendencies in the long run, especially since the Latin rulers chose not to challenge the local rulers (Van Tricht, 2011: 477).

The rulers of Epirus continuously formed and changed alliances. For example, Michael Comnenos Doukas had initially attached himself to Boniface of Montferrat, one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and had joined him in his campaign in Macedonia and Thessaly right after the conquest of Constantinople in September 1204, but later decided to pursue his own rule in Epirus (Van Tricht, 2011: 30). The Doukas family treated the Latin empire with care, allying themselves with it when appropriate, factoring in the military power of the westerners. As a result, they initially did not aggressively pursue full independence (Van Tricht, 2011: 239).

As part of the *Partition Romaniae*, Venice was to receive the lands west of Pindos mountains, but in practice Venice only took control of the port of Dyrrachion and the island of Corfu (Prinzing, 2016: 82). As such, the mainland was left to tend to itself,

which inevitably invited local and foreign powers to take advantage of the situation. The local provincial administrative capacities of the empire were still around, allowing the local groups to utilize them to reinforce their control.

The relative isolation of Epirus had kept it out of the important affairs in the region for centuries, but right after the Fourth Crusade, Epirus' profile and importance changed significantly. Ecclesiastically, Epirus was both part of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate and a member of the newly formed autocephalous archbishop of Bulgaria. The latter had control over other bishoprics that included today's Macedonia, Greece, Serbia, and Albania. There were metropolises linked to the patriarchate and archbishopric seat of Ohrid (Prinzing, 2016: 82).

The first ruler of Epirus after the takeover of Constantinople by Latins was Michael Comnenos Doukas (1205-1214/1215). He was a cousin of the former emperors Isaac II (1185-1195) and Alexios III (1195-1203), and under his rule, Epirus became the rival of another successor state of the Byzantine Empire, Nicaea.

The previous experience of Michael Comnenos Doukas in Asia Minor helped him to succeed in the foundation of the state of Epirus. Before 1204 he was *doux* and *anagrapheus* of the theme of Mylassa and Melanoudion (Kazhdan vol2, 1991: 1362). At some point before 1204, Michael Doukas started a rebellion against the emperor Alexius III Angelus in the south-west Asia Minor. He was defeated and had to spend some time at the Seljuq court in Konya. He returned to the capital soon after the arrival of the crusaders (Angold, 2014: 142).

After a brief stint in the service of Boniface of Montferrat, when he joined the Latin invasion of Macedonia and Thessaly after the conquest of Constantinople, Michael Doukas then moved to Epiros (Prinzing, 2016: 82). Starting from Arta, he expanded the territories and merged the neighboring areas to Epirus. He had an opportunistic approach to forming alliances which would serve his short-term goals and he was comfortable switching sides if it was necessary for his objectives as seen in his handling of the Latins and Venetians. For example, Michael Doukas formalized his control of the area when he concluded a treaty with the Venetians in 1210, which made him their vassal (Prinzing, 2016: 82). But by 1214, he had already taken control of Dyrrachium and Corfu from the Venetians. (Nicol, 1984: 4).

Although there are not many sources to rely on, it appears that he was a skilled politician who successfully used diplomacy and warfare, taking advantage of the dynamics in the region to maximize his power and territorial control (Nicol, 1984: 3).

In Epirus Michael I Comnenos Doukas benefited from the existing Byzantine administrative structures as based in Arta, which was the capital of the *theme* of Nikopolis. He was now in control of the districts of Aitolia and Akarnania, Thesprotia and Ioannina, and the Old Epirus. New Epirus was further to the north and included the theme of Dyrrachium and the western section of the Via Egnatia, the road connecting the ports on the Adriatic Sea with Thessaloniki and Constantinople (Nicol, 1957: 3).

After Michael died, his half-brother Theodore (1215-1230) came to power as his successor. We are much better informed about Theodore's rule, mainly because of the writings of John Apokaukos, Demetrios Chomatianos and George Bardanes (Prinzing, 2016: 83). Theodore also pursued an opportunistic approach towards the Latin rulers of

Constantinople. He used a combination of military and diplomatic measures to advance his interests. For example, he initially pledged support to the Fifth Crusade (Van Tricht, 2011: 242-243), however emperor Peter's policy changes that put the Western powers in a more significant position in the region, led to the abandonment of the pragmatic approach when Theodore took Peter hostage (Van Tricht, 2011: 243), which was essentially a declaration of independence. Theodore was able to repair the relationship with the pope and was thus able to avoid repercussions, as the pope forbade the crusaders from attacking Doukas' territories. Soon after, Epirus started a military campaign to take over Thessaloniki (Van Tricht, 2011: 378).

What Van Tricht refers to as a Latin-Byzantine model of ruling the empire (Van Tricht, 2011: 305) started coming under pressure with the arrival of Western newcomers in Constantinople. The discord that this created, whereby a faction wanted to continue with the Latin-Byzantine cooperation, and another pushed for a Latin rule, allowed Epirote rulers to continue with their offensive and expansion of their territory. (Van Tricht, 2011: 306) These developments led to the growing ambition of Epirus to attempt to take over Constantinople, which enjoyed support of the Epirote episcopate (Van Tricht, 2011: 377-378).

By the end of 1224, Theodore was able to take control of Thessaloniki (Van Tricht, 2011: 384) and Adrianople. He proclaimed himself as the emperor of the Romans, establishing another competing Byzantine regional power. By 1228, Doukas reached the walls of Constantinople and the truce that was reached after that was nothing but an opportunity to regroup and prepare for launching an offensive on the imperial capital (Van Tricht, 2011: 386). However, his failed expedition against Bulgarians prevented him from ever achieving that.

Theodore Doukas and his activities are mostly known from the writings of the Metropolitan John Apokaukos of Naupaktos and Archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ohrid whom Theodore appointed. He exercised his imperial control over the church by appointing the archbishop and gaining more territories to north and east. (Prinzing, 2016: 83). He took a number of steps to control the ecclesiastical powers with an objective of supporting his own interests; for example, he sent the metropolitan of Thessaloniki into exile when he did not accept to crown him.

Theodore was initially based in Arta and later as he shifted the center of power to Thessaloniki, he had a viceregent represent him in Arta. He sought to emulate Byzantine emperors by awarding titles of despot, particularly to his brothers who administered regions within the territory under his control. Theodore also ensured that the ecclesiastical leadership was loyal to him (Prinzing, 2016: 84).

Epirus, just as Nicaea and Trebizond, sought to establish its status as the only true successor of the Byzantine empire. The interesting aspect of this struggle for legitimacy between the three successor states is that because the Latin empire was located right in the middle of the three, this conflict had to play out through different means, not open warfare. (Eastmond, 2004: 3)). Governance, religion, ceremony and ritual, symbols of imperial authority were employed to re-create the empire in exile and gain support for the desired outcome of recovering Constantinople and legitimately claiming the empire (Eastmond, 2004: 3).

Epirus, similarly to the other successor states of the empire, had to establish its administrative structures and bureaucracies, organize the trade and society, form an army and project power (Eastmond, 2004: 5). But in addition to these tangible elements

of statehood, the Epirote side had to formulate an imperial identity, which was determined in terms of its opposition to Nicaean position. While the Nicaean side argued that the secular and the ecclesiastical aspects of the empire had to remain one, the Epirote side (represented in this debate by Demetrios Chomatianos), proposed a model where secular and ecclesiastical unity was not necessary. He argued that since the patriarch was universally recognized and thus the Orthodoxy was not technically divided, the secular power in contrast, could be divided. Among other things, such a position allowed him to justify crowning Theodore Comnenos Doukas in Thessaloniki in 1227 (Eastmond, 2004: 6).

The defeat and capture of Theodore at Klokotnica in 1230 by the Bulgarian forces dramatically changed the dynamics in Epirus. The forward momentum was halted, and Epirus entered a period during which the imperial ambitions of its rulers diminished (Nicol, 1984: 73).

The political and military achievements of Michael I and Theodore justified their claims and aspirations to take on the leadership roles within the Byzantine empire and potentially take control of Constantinople. Their belonging to the Comnenian family reinforced their claim of being legitimate successors of Byzantine emperors (Nicol, 1984: 45). However, after Klokotnica, Epirus had to undergo a course correction whereby they gave up, to an extent, on the ambition of taking over the imperial capital and started investing their time and resources on Arta. This is when we start seeing expansion of construction works in Arta, which is expanded upon in chapter 3 of this thesis.

After Theodore's defeat and capture, his brother despot Manuel, who became a ruler in Thessaloniki, had no choice but to reach an agreement with Nicaea in 1233. He also consented to the end of the ecclesiastical divide. After that, there were no more imperial coronations performed by archbishops of Ohrid (Prinzing, 2016: 84). Manuel ruled in Thessaloniki until 1237 when the blinded Theodore was released and returned from Bulgaria. He ousted Manuel and installed his son John as the emperor who ruled until 1244. This line of Epirotic rulers of Thessaloniki thus came to an end with Theodore's younger son Demetrios who ruled between 1244 and 1246 and lost Thessaloniki to Nicaea (Prinzing, 2016: 84).

At the same time, Michael II (1230-1266/68), Theodore's nephew, started expanding his power out of Corfu in 1236, gradually taking over the mainland of Epirus. Michael II, son of Michael I Comnenos Doukas, was exiled by Theodore in 1215, right after Michael's death. He took advantage of Theodore's absence and took over the rule of Epirus. While he initially accepted the title of despot from Nicaea in 1252, a conflict broke out. Michael II, allied with Sicily and Achaia, fought against Nicaea, but his alliance was defeated in 1259 at Pelagonia. While Nicaea then almost completely took over Epirus, they were not able to establish themselves there and withdrew. Michael II died sometime between September 1266 and August 1267 (Prinzing, 2016: 84).

In the meantime, in 1261, the reconquest of Constantinople was achieved by the Nicaean empire, thus ending the Latin empire and signaling the restoration of the Byzantine Empire. In the period that followed, Epirus witnessed more conflict, invasions and changing alliances. The Comnenos Doukas dynasty continued ruling Epirus until 1318 when the Italian Orsini family took over.

2.4 On the issue of “artistocratic” diaspora

Against the background of the existing complex relationship between the Byzantine empire and the West, we can draw some distinction between the reaction of the imperial elite and the broader Byzantine population, to the events of 1204. Unfortunately, there are not a lot of sources documenting the situation of the general population in Constantinople after 1204 (Van Tricht, 2011: 27). While the sources (incl. Niketas Choniates) confirm the departure of the nobles from the capital (Van Tricht, 2011: 28), the general population appears to have remained (as per the Latin sources, including Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari (Van Tricht, 2011: 29).

That said, while there are a lot of gaps in information regarding the fate of different Byzantine noble families after 1204, not all chose to leave the capital. Those who left, headed in different directions, including Epirus, Bulgaria, Nicaea, Paphlagonia, and even the Seljuk Sultanate in Konya. To understand the dynamics of movement of the families of noblemen, Van Tricht uses an approach inspired by the prosopographical method. He defines the Byzantine elite as some 161 families. Tracking their fate after 1204, Van Tricht was able to track some, though many others he could not (Van Tricht, 2011: 32). Twenty-three of these aristocratic families were located with relative certainty within the territories of the Latin Empire after 1204 (Van Tricht, 2011: 34). Another twenty-one aristocratic households are traced to the Empire of Nicaea and thirteen to Epirus for the period of 1204-1217/1224. The families that are traced to Epirus include: Apokaukos, Chamaretos, Chomatianos, Dokeianos, Doukas, Kataphloron, Comnenos, Makrembolites, Melissenos, Mesopotamites, Padiadites, Pegonites, and Senachereim (Van Tricht, 2011: 36).

These numbers however do not represent even the majority of the 161 families, therefore the situation of the majority of the aristocratic families after 1204 is unfortunately unknown (Van Tricht, 2011: 37). Still, the evidence shows that the noblemen, at least initially, were ready to continue to reside in Constantinople and other Latin territories and function as part of the imperial governance structures. The attitude may have been that this was nothing but another regime change, and for some time, the Latin rulers initially tried to create a cooperative environment where Latin rulers would rule in synergy with the Byzantine administrative structures in a mutually advantageous manner. Van Tricht thus concludes that the migration of the Byzantine noblemen out of Constantinople may not have been as comprehensive as previously assumed (Van Tricht 2011, 38).

In summary, this chapter includes a brief overview of the key contemporary and other sources on the subject, as well as a historical overview of the Despotate of Epirus before and after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.

The next chapter reviews art and architecture in Arta in the thirteenth century, particularly in the context of the impact of the event of 1204 and formation of the Despotate of Epirus, and the patronage and motivations of the Epirote rulers and aristocracy.

CHAPTER 3

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN ARTA

In this chapter, the impact of the aristocratic families arriving in Epirus from Constantinople, on the local art and architecture is examined. When looking into the architecture or any material evidence from the 13th century Despotate, it is worth highlighting the capital city, Arta. The city was the primary recipient of the aristocracy and many high-ranking officials, as well as other refugees, including monks and nuns who fled Constantinople and other parts of the Byzantine empire after 1204 (Fundic, 2022: 13).

In order to understand the effect of this movement from the archaeological perspective, in this chapter the church architecture and the painting programs of the churches in Arta will be looked at. By reviewing the building activities and artistic production, it is examined how the rulers of Epirus used the art and material culture to boost their claim to the throne of the Byzantine empire, seek legitimacy against the rival successor states, achieve and preserve independence of Epirus. (Fundic, 2022: 152).

3.1 Church Architecture in the 13th century Epirus

The architecture of the region was inspired by different historic and cultural features such as the Frankish states, the Comnenoi-Doukas presence in the northwest, and the Venetian and Genoan occupation of the islands and the Macedonia/Thrace area. When we take a closer look, it is observed that the aforementioned regions were in a different situation compared to the capital which was experiencing a relative decline in economy, social life and arts. The economy was reshaped on the islands and trade took another

direction with the influence of the Italians. All of these developments did not stop cities like Arta and Ioannina from growing and becoming more and more prosperous. The administration in Arta was rather aiming at improving the relationship with the west and building a mutually beneficial environment despite religious and cultural differences (Bouras, 2006: 165).

With the elevation of Arta's status in the early thirteenth century, expansion of trade and commerce and enhanced financial resources of its rulers, Arta witnessed an increase in monumental construction. A significant number of middle-Byzantine churches from the twelfth century, for example Ag. Theodora, Ag. Demetrios Katsouris and Vlacherna monastery were renovated and re-decorated. This, along with the construction of new churches led to the formation of a distinct 'local Epirote architectural school' (Fundic, 2022: 14).

Later on, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Epirote architecture starts displaying Constantinopolitan features. Examples of this include the type of the four-column cross-in-square church with five domes and porticos and chapels, as we see at the monastery of the Pantanassa at Philippiada (Fundic, 2022:155).

The churches were apparently built by local masons. Over time, these masons developed a style that was different from other Byzantine cities of that time. This 'School of Epirus' as it is sometimes called, is characterised by three-sided apses, exterior pilasters linked by arches, richly articulated window frames made of brick, and stone arches, as well as the door and window frames. The high-quality, dark-red bricks had special cuts along the edges forming astragal, kufesque, and other shapes, forming

distinct decorative elements on the facades of Epirote churches. The fresco decoration in the northern regions appear to have been influenced by the art of Thessaloniki and of Macedonia (Fundic, 2022: 153).

The expansion of the monumental architecture inevitably attracted workers, builders, and craftsmen from different regions. Due to the rare mention in the inscriptions, there is little knowledge about the identity of the builders, which was usual practice in Byzantium. However, it is clear that Epirus became the hub for builders with different backgrounds and gradually developed a strong network of artisans and craftsmen. This involved the Frankish influencing the Gothic style, Constantinopolitan mosaicists and Italian sculptors (Bouras, 2006: 166).

According to Bouras, there were mainly four different architectural styles that flourished in Greece in the 13th century. These were the Gothic style buildings mainly concentrated in the central part, rare Byzantine buildings inspired by the Gothic style, monuments in the Despotate of Epirus and much smaller and more modest ones that continued the tradition of previous centuries. The external influence was significant, but local influences and tradition continued to dominate the architecture of Epirus; though its features continued evolving further. For example, different types of churches were introduced, such as the single-nave cross-vaulted church or a single-aisled type of a basilican church. Additionally, more varied brick patterns were used to decorate the exterior of the churches. Bricks were also used in donor inscriptions (Fundic, 2022: 154).

There are Frankish elements in the Epirote architecture of the first half of the thirteenth century. The cross-vaulted churches, which were new in the region and they appeared in mainland Greece in the thirteenth century. A version of this kind of a church, but with three aisles can be found in the Peloponnese, Euboea, Crete, and Epirus, with the oldest examples in Epirus, notably the churches of Panagia tou Bryoni (1238) and Kato Panagia near Arta. The plan of these two churches was possibly influenced by the transept representative of the Italian Gothic or Romanesque cathedrals (Fundic, 2022: 116).

The Epirote artistic production, including architecture, sculpture, the iconography of monuments, saw a boost after 1230. While the style and the patterns were Byzantine, there were noticeable influences from Nicaea and the neighbouring Latin states. The rulers of Epirus used their artistic patronage to show their piety, and simultaneously highlight their Byzantine legacy and Epirote independence (Fundic, 2022: 98).

The Despotate's architecture consists of more or less twenty churches, some of which were built as political manifestations. The style was not purely Greek but rather eclectic, including elements from western architecture (brickwork, lozenge-shaped plaques in friezes that are glazed and colored) (Bouras, 2006:175).

The Despotate developed its own architectural style, an independent one that developed through extensive building activity. The activity continued throughout the reigns of Michael II, his son Nikephorus I, Thomas Angelus Comnenos and his mother Anna Paleologina. The area controlled by the Despotate was large and included the Corinth gulf and the Ionian islands. The monuments in this vast area do share similarities but

also have their own peculiarities. The similarities were the classical 13th century style Byzantine churches which were cross-vaulted and had narthexes. The preference of conservatism and loyalty to the traditional style had also existed. The variety of architectural works manifested in particular styles demonstrate the variability and multiplicity of craftsmen in the Despotate (Kaponis, 2005: 384). The elements and characteristics of Byzantine architecture are present as a general tendency; however, each building has elements from Southern and Northern Greece and the amount of contribution from these regions varied. The very essence of the style of the Despotate provided room for diversity and creativity. Before the establishment of the new Despotate, there had been a long tradition of architecture that existed in the 12th century; however, it was not that dominant and hence the new style became more dominant (Kaponis, 2005: 384). This characteristic of the building activity undoubtedly got its roots and supporting mechanisms from the political and social elite that arrived in Epirus at the same time. To summarize, the components of the Despotate architecture were the regionality, ideology, and collective memory (Kaponis, 2005: 385). Eventually, this heavy building activity came to a decline which was mainly due to the social and political events connected with the independence struggles during the 14th century and onwards.

3.2 Arta and its churches

Arta is selected for this research, due to its political significance in the Despotate, but also as it was, along with Ioannina, one of the two key locations that received the majority of the refugees from Constantinople. Ioannina became a popular settlement after the Fourth Crusade as Michael I Komnenos Doukas wanted to attract new settlers from Constantinople which had succeeded (Shea, 2010: 91). Ioannina went through a

transformation from a provincial fortress to the second city of Epirus, and later into a capital city (Shea, 2010: 148).

Arta is located over the site of the ancient Amvrakia (or Ambracia, Ampracia). The city lies in the northwestern part of Greece, on the Arachthos river. The river provides natural protection to the city and flows into the Ambracia Gulf, which allows for communion with the Ionian Sea (Kontogiannis, 2022: 186).

Arta became the capital of the Despotate during the reign of Michael II and witnessed many attacks during the late 13th century. Before the Despotate, Arta was starting to get attention from the settlers in Nikopolis as it was more secure. Since the ninth century, there was an ongoing building activity for the next two hundred years in which we can find important structures such as Blacherna and Hagios Demetrios tou Katsoure. As it was already the seat of the bishop by the twelfth century, the city started to attract tradesmen as well (Papadopoulou, 2013b: 126). After becoming the capital and until the fifteenth century, Arta remained an artistic center. The Arachthos river fertilized the land and as a result the city also relied on wine production. The nearby gulf was used for fisheries and as a source of salt (Papadopoulou, 2013b: 126).

The city wall and the castle of Arta are the most famous structures of the city. The wall was rebuilt over the ancient Ambrakia, preserving its remnants. The walls, which are attributed to the middle of the thirteenth century, witnessed many attacks by the Serbs, Albanians, Latin kings, and rival Byzantine states (Papadopoulou, 2015: 3, Kontogiannis, 2022: 186). It has a trapezoid plan and a height of 10 meters. There is a total of 18 rectangular, semi-circular, triangular, or polygonal towers. The south side of

the wall overlooks Arta, the city. The towers that are shaped in rectangular or semi-circular forms are assumed to be dated to the Byzantine period whereas the polygonal and triangular ones belong to the Ottoman period (Papadopoulou, 2015: 3). The main entrance or gate is located on the south side and a smaller one on the north side. The northwest part of the wall functioned as the last refuge of the castle (Kontogiannis, 2022: 186).

The city plan evolved around the fortification walls that surrounded the castle. (Map 6). The castle had its agora outside, the headquarters inside and during the attacks it served as a safe place. The castle is located close to the river Arachthos which also provides protection and encloses today's city of Arta. It became a symbol of the Despotate underlining its power and authority in the region (Papadopoulou, 2015: 2). The dating of the castle is problematic because of its multiple renovations and modifications but it is assumed to be built in the Middle Ages and had its renovation during the Despotate period by Michael II. Inside the castle, there is a large but fragmented Byzantine building which was assumed to be used as a court during the Despotate period.

The churches and monasteries inside the city wall became the landmarks within Arta. (Maps 7 and 8). Most of the churches were built in the thirteenth century which was the early period of the Despotate during its population growth. Ten of these churches were built during this period and only five of them are still standing (Shea, 2010: 164). The extent of construction of churches and monasteries mirrored the level of power of the ruling family. For example, Nikephoros and Anna were still considered part of the Byzantine lineage. They endowed Arta with a royal mausoleum (Blacherna), a

pilgrimage church (Hagia Theodora) and a new cathedral (Paregoretissa) in line with the model of the imperial capital where such construction projects were part and parcel of state propaganda. But after Nikephoros' death, their status deteriorated which is seen in the unfinished galleries in Paregoretissa (Georgiadou, 2015: 121).

Apart from the church buildings, some houses from the late Byzantine period were found. They were mostly built of rubble, stone, brick, and ancient spolia. Some did have secondary stores as was mentioned by John Apokaukos and shown in the frescoes in the Vlacherna church (Shea, 2010: 169). Being closer to the west, the city produced more hybrid material than the rest of the cities in Epirus. That, and its role as a trading center this displayed an acceptance towards new and diverse styles.

The following monasteries and churches in chronological order. One of the outcomes of the aristocratic families from Constantinople settling in Epirus was how it affected art and architecture. This is particularly so in case of churches and monasteries built in the thirteenth century and sponsored by the royal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic families. Whether it was the purpose, the design or the decoration of the said churches, it served to reinforce Epirus' connection to Constantinople and the related ambitions of the patrons.

3.2.1 Agios Demetrios Katsouris

The church of Agios Dimitrios Katsouris is located in the village of Plisioi, a short distance from Arta (Fig. 2). It was probably found by Michael Zorianos, a protostrator of Thomas Comnenos Doukas, in the last decade of the thirteenth century (Fundic, 2022: 37). In the south side of the side aisle, on the left and right of the walled single-

lobed window, there is a brick-made inscription with the following monogram as follows: MXA ZPN (Fundic, 2022: 37). It was used initially as a *catholicon*; the main church of a monastery. Today it is used as a churchyard. Dating of the church goes from 7th to 9th century of the ancient Arta, Ambrakia. The church was first mentioned by its own name by Naupaktos in a synod of 1229 (Alferi, 2012:2).

Architecture: It is a cross-domed church with a cylindrical dome enclosed with three apses on the eastern side. There are irregularities in the building caused by different building phases and the existence of remains of an older church in the same place which was incorporated by the mid-Byzantine church that is preserved today (Papadopoulou, 2013b: 136). (Fig. 3) There are later additions like the rectangular narthex on the west in 1868 and the bell tower in 1911 (Alferi, 2012:3). (Fig. 4) During the middle Byzantine period it was a basilica which corresponds the first phase, then during the late Byzantine period the church had different additions to reach its current form. For the basilica phase, there are different theories, such as the basilica had a dome over its transept. In general, the church itself is regarded as an unusual combination of different elements and forms reflecting the different backgrounds of the artisans and craftsmen (Alferi, 2012: 26). (Fig. 5 and 6).

The wall paintings of the church had two different phases mainly dating to the 13th century. Stylistically, following the painting tradition in Byzantine Greece, in the 13th century, heads became smaller with sloping shoulders. Lighter colors were started to be used with a red background. This church has its wall paintings from the 12th century which make them the earliest ones in the district of Arta (Alferi, 2012: 57).

Painting programs: The wall paintings include the depictions of saints at the niche and representations of the Apostles. These different phases can also be attributed to the political events that happened during the 13th century in 1220s. There was a dispute between Ioannis Apokaukos who was the Metropolitan of Naupaktos and Ioannis who was the Bishop of Arta. Ioannis wanted to have his own independence and he had his own privileges of excommunicating and dismissing priests who were in contact with Apokaukos. This dispute continued for a while until the excommunicated priests were found innocent (Alferi, 2012: 13). Due to this conflict, there was a rivalry on who was going to sponsor the churches. It is assumed that this church's frescoes that are dated to 1220-1230 was made under Apokaukos' commission (Alferi, 2012: 57).

The second layer of the frescoes is dated towards the end of the 13th century-beginning of the 14th century: Representations of the Blessed Virgin Mary with Christ in the niche of the arch and the Ascension, the Annunciation, Pentecost, etc. Stylistically, the figures are expressive in movement with calligraphic touches that contrast with the thick lines of the first phase. More naturalistic drapes, opening landscapes in the background and clearer modeling in general (Alferi, 2012: 57). (Fig. 7, 8 and 9). Some of the wall paintings in this church were found to have similarities with different churches; like the frescoes of hierarchs in *Bema* being similar to the ones in Hagia Sophia in Ochrid. Red Church also known as Panagia Bellas in Arta has wall paintings that are thought to influence the ones in Agios Demetrios Katsouris (Alferi, 2012: 59). They both show similar stylistic tendencies with the southern Italy church of San Pietro (Alferi, 2012: 59). The stylistic similarities in the paintings of the Pentecost with varied positions (Safran, 1994:151) or the use of black contour and linear modeling (Safran, 1994:153).

The painting program of the church is problematic due to its different phases and lower wall sections are not preserved. However, the six scenes enable us to link them to the *Dodekaorton* cycle (Alferi, 2012: 64). (Fig. 10, 11 and 12).

T.Papamastorakis indicated that the iconographic program of the dome of Hagios Demetrios Katsouris is in line with the political vision of Epirus at that time. The decorations, namely seven angels below the figure of Christ Pantokrator, and the 14 prophets depicted as having a conversation, as well as the quotations in the scrolls they hold in their hands feature the theme of the liberation of Israel and the return of the Jews to Jerusalem. The references from the scrolls, specifically on the trials and tribulations of Israelites in exile and the word of God being the means of Israel's salvation, should be seen against the historical background after the events of 1204. With the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the hope of the Epirote (as well as the Nicaean) leadership was to eventually return to the capital and restore the Byzantine empire. As such, the painter or the artists of this iconographic program in the dome of Hagios Demetrios Katsouris must have been aware and supportive of this agenda. Papamastorakis suggests that there has likely been a link with John Apokaukos (Fundic. 2022:52-54).

The church does not have preserved inscriptions or any other evidence pointing to the year of its decoration. The work is, to a great extent, based on middle-Byzantine of eleventh to twelfth centuries, from which the authors have done the borrowing for their figures (Fundic. 2022: 54) As one of a few preserved examples of monuments dating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Fundic. 2022: 55), the iconographic program of the dome of Hagios Demetrios Katsouris combines religious and political

messages, and is similar to the program of the monastery of the archangel Michael in Thari. The scenes of Nativity, the Prostration of the Magoi, the Presentation, and the figures of saints and other holy persons, follow older models. Due to following a trend known in churches in the southern Greece, Fundic concludes that these iconographic and stylistic features in the church of Hagios Demetrios Katsouris date back to the first decades of the thirteenth century (Fundic. 2022: 55).

The Iconographic program of the dome of the church of Hagios Demetrios Katsouris is an example of the alignment of the architectural and artistic patronage with the political platform of the Epirote rulers. In the Byzantine empire, the aristocratic elites often called Constantinople the new Zion and identified with the New Israel. The conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the exile of Byzantine noblemen to Nicaea and Epirus were compared to the exile of the Israelites to Babylon. Just as the Israelites, those who fled Constantinople hoped for a return to the New Sion, under the leadership of an Orthodox Epirote ruler (Eastmond, 2004: 73-74). The writings of Apokaukos, Bardanes and Chomatenos occasionally make references to such comparisons as well (Fundic. 2022:52-54).

3.2.2 Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery

Today's parish church, the Vlacherna Monastery is located near the city of Arta. (Fig. 16). It was transformed into a nunnery approximately in 1224-30 as it was only documented building regarding its transformation and renovation (Georgiadou, 2015: 24). This was mentioned by John Apokaukos and it took place as a result of the refugee influx from Constantinople and there was a need for female monastery to accommodate these people (Georgiadou, 2015: 25). Apokaukos lauded this change, since unlike

Constantinople, there were almost no nunneries in Epirus at the time and he hoped that Arta might follow Constantinople's example in this matter (Fundic, 2022: 48).

There is a discussion, however, about the sponsorship of this transformation. One possible explanation is related to the ex-emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203) and his wife Euphrosyne Doukaina's flight to Arta. Euphrosyne had significant property there and according to Akropolites, she was buried in Arta. Euphrosyne is one of the most likely sponsors of the conversion of this monastery to a royal convent, although there is no conclusive evidence in the building itself (Georgiadou, 2015: 27).

Another possibility is that the wife of Theodore Doukas Maria Doukaina Comnene might have played a role in sponsoring this change and Apokaukos' decree on this issue supports that Maria Doukaina Petraliphaina had requested conversion of this male monastery into a female convent (Fundic, 2022: 47). This initiative is one of the earliest indications that the new rulers of Epirus attempted to reproduce Constantinopolitan features in their new capital to clearly emphasize their imperial ambitions and connection to Constantinople (Georgiadou, 2015: 26). The very name of the monastery comes from the Blacherna in Constantinople. It was chosen consciously to highlight the connection and continuity (Ousterhout, 2019: 565).

Blacherna in Constantinople had a very important role in the consciousness of the Comnenoi. As the location of the most important Marian basilica in Constantinople, this northwestern part of the city became the political and the religious center of the capital from the late eleventh century. The new imperial palace and permanent residence of Emperor Alexios I (1081-1118) was located here (Fundic, 2022: 47-48).

Arta's Vlacherna clearly emulated the Constantinopolitan examples. The architectural layout of the building is reminiscent of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, which is the mausoleum complex of the Comnenoi (Fundic, 2022: 48). As there are three different sections which functioned as three different churches segregated with aisles, it is understood that Vlacherna not only was similar to Pantokrator in outline, but also in function as it may have been used as a mausoleum for the imperial family members (Ousterhout, 2019: 565). (Fig. 17, 18 and 19)

This three-aisled building with a barrel-vault shelters tombs of the famous rulers of the Despotate, members of Comnenos-Doukas family. It was previously thought that one of the tombs belonged to the two sons of Theodora and the other one to her husband Michael II, according to their inscriptions (Papadopoulou, 2002: 77). However, it is now considered certain that Michael II and his sons John and Demetrios were not buried in the sarcophagi, but that they are occupied by members of the Petralifas family. The church may have been located on the Petraliphas' property or it may have had a special status among the rulers of Epiros, keeping in mind that two members of the ruling family – Maria and Theodora were members of the Petraliphas family (Fundic, 2022: 47).

The older tenth-century sections were integrated into the late twelfth century building and at least five different phases of renovation are traceable. The Vlacherna has remarkable brickwork on the pediments and sculptural decoration including the marble templon at the entrance. (Papadopoulou 2013b, 137) (Fig. 20 - 25)

Dating of the construction of the building and its decorations remains complicated. The church was built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century as a vaulted basilica with three aisles. The basilica was rebuilt at some point later, possibly in the same century, possibly due to damage done by an earthquake. Only parts of the original church are extant, and the southern apse is the only portion visible from the exterior. (Fundic 47)

The narthex and its decorations are dated to the end of the thirteenth century, and can be attributed to Anna Palaiologina, the wife of Nikephoros Comnenos Doukas. While there are no inscriptions and no written evidence to this, the fresco decoration on the west wall of the narthex depicts the ceremony related to the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople, where three female figures are typically identified as Anna Palaiologina of Epirus, her sister Theodora Raoulaina, and their mother Irene-Eulogia (Fundic, 2022:24). This is yet another example of a link to Constantinople and the city's procession ritual of Virgin Hodegetria.

The paintings of Vlacherna have two phases. The first phase visible in the naos includes scenes of the Visitation, the Myrrh Bearers, *Noli me tangere*, Passion scenes and the Incredulity of Thomas. The first phase of the paintings is dated to the mid-thirteenth century. The second phase on the narthex includes paintings with scenes of the Christmas *Sticheron* and the Procession of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople (Papadopoulou 2013b, 137). (Fig. 26-28)

3.2.3 Kato Panagia Monastery

The monastery was built by Michael II Comnenos Doukas (1231-68) who was also the husband of Saint Theodora. Michael II was in a relationship with another woman and sent Theodora to exile and later, as a sign of his repentance, he built this monastery

along with the church of Pantanassa (Talbot, 1996: 333). (Fig. 31 and 33) While Michael II Doukas' involvement in restoration of the Vlacherna is unclear, the epigraphic and other textual sources show that he did sponsor Kato Panagia (Fundic, 2022: 19).

A three-aisled and cross-domed church had witnessed many phases of restoration and renovation. The *diakonikon* paintings are the ones that are dated to the 13th century. (Fig. 29-30 and 34)

The *Katholikon* of the monastery presents resemblance to the church of Porta Panagia at the Gate of Trichalon (1283) which was the work of Michael II. The exterior presents an elaborate masonry, with structures from ancient buildings of Ambrakia and rich ceramic decoration. Another feature of this monastery is that it has a barrel vault instead of a dome, a general trend in Greece during the thirteenth century (Ousterhout, 2019: 565).

The walls of the main church and the sanctuary are recorded in hagiographies having at least three phases. The oldest are those of the *diakonikon*, which date back to the 13th century and is one of the few examples in the area from the Despotate period. (Fig. 32). In the quarter sphere of the arch, there is the representation of Christ known as "Ancient of Days". The arch depicts the Epiphany (in its northern part) and Zacharias "expelling the gifts of the righteous" (in the south). On the north and south walls of the *diakonikon* full-size saints, such as Hypatius, Sylvester and Anthimos are depicted (Papadopoulou, 2003: 13-14). (Fig. 35-38).

Owing to the written documents, this monastery was built as a good act of Michael II who wanted to show his devotion and as stylistically and functionally; it was meant to stand out from the Paregoritissa as the construction of this monastery was more of a personal act than that of a statesman. Due to its architectural features like having a barrel vault, we can say that Kato Panagia had drifted away from Constantinople, although its wall paintings and iconography are firmly within the Byzantine conventions (Georgiadou, 2015: 370).

3.2.4 Pantanassa near Philippias

This is another church that is thought to have been built during the reign of Michael II. Excavated by the Archaeological Society of Athens in the 70s, this church is one of the prominent ones in Arta. Two building phases belong to the thirteenth century; one was during the reign of Michael II (1250), the other one was under Nikephoros' rule (1290) (Georgiadou, 2015: 58). (Fig. 39, 41 and 42). The inscription and portraits of Nikephoros and his wife Anna attest to their patronage. In this sense, Pantanassa is different from, for example, the narthex of the Vlacherna monastery which has no written evidence (Fundic, 2022: 110).

Although it is now in ruins, it has a cross-in-square plan completed by domed chapels, porticoes, and belfry. (Fig. 40) While stylistically it can be attributed to Constantinopolitan architecture, the *naos* was found similar to the Church E in Sardis and the influence of Gothic/Western architecture is visible due to the additions of belfry, porticoes and ribbed vaults (Ousterhout, 2019: 567). The cross-in-square structure of the church was framed by an ambulatory, ending in two chapels on either side of the nave. This took place during Nikephoros' reign (Fundic, 2022: 111).

Brick and terracotta findings were very rich and varied. There were inscribed bricks and in one of them the name of Nikephoros is visible (Georgiadou, 2015: 61). (Fig. 47). The sculpture findings were also no different; ancient sculptures of capitals that were reused, Byzantine and Western sculptures all used for different sections inside the church (Georgiadou, 2015: 62).

Pantanassa's Gothic style accompanies the Byzantine imagery (Georgiadou, 2015: 370). (Fig.43) During the excavation of the church, many fragments of the wall paintings were discovered. Six hierarchs are depicted on the central apse. On the lower registers, there are paintings or imitations of marble revetment. The higher sections of the walls have the fragments of depictions of saints. Busts of saints decorated the frontal arch of the apse. The western end of the southern portico has the crowning by the Virgin, holding the Christ child in her arms, with a fragmentary inscription with surnames Comnenos. Nikephoros Doukas and Anna Comnenodoukaina Palaiologina accompany the depicted figures with their two children, son Thomas and daughter Thamar also included in the image (Fundic, 2022: 111).

The frescoes in both Vlacherna and Pantanassa are preserved in fragments. However, they are still very important as they contribute to the dating of other wall paintings, not only in these, but also the neighbouring churches in Epirus (Fundic, 2022:112). (Fig. 44-48).

3.2.5 Red Church/Panagia Bellas/ Kokkini Ekklesia

The church of the Panagia Vellas (Red Church) near Voulgareli, also known by the name of Panymnetos or Red Church was another example of a church sponsored by the Epirote aristocracy (Fundic, 2022: 49). This is another church from the Despotate period that is dedicated to the birth of the Virgin Mary. Its name comes from the color of the bricks that decorate its exterior walls (Papadopoulou 2008, 323). (Fig. 49-51). The church is dated to 1295/96 which was built by one of Nikephoros' high ranked official named Theodore Tzimiskes, as indicated in a wall painting on the eastern wall of the narthex. (Fig.52) He is portrayed with his wife Maria offering the church's model to Virgin Mary and the child (Georgiadou, 2015: 161). In the inscription, Theodore Tzimiskes is mentioned with Nikephoros and Anna. Theodore Tzimiskes was probably protostrator in the army of Nikephoros I, and participated in the battle of Berat in 1281 when the Byzantine troops of Michael VIII Palaiologos fought and defeated the army of Charles of Anjou, king of Naples (Fundic, 2022: 38).

The inscription above the western entrance talks about a specific historical event in the Despotate of Epirus that make it possible to date the church to 1296, approximately (Papadopoulou, 2008: 325). (Fig. 53).

The dome collapsed in an unknown date and then was replaced with a wooden roof. (Fig. 54-55). Originally a cross-in-square church with two columns, one apse, three-sided narthex (Georgiadou, 2015: 164). The brick work and the masonry in general do resemble the ones in Paregoretissa. In addition to these two, Panagia Peribleptos in Ochrid seems to share the exact similarities and that is why it is assumed that the people

who worked in these churches were hired continuously and were very popular among the nobles (Georgiadou, 2015: 165).

An important aspect of this church are the paintings and inscriptions which help understand better the Epirote patronage of art during this period. Among these, on the southern side, Daniel the Stylite is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. The portrait also has related characteristics similar to other Byzantine churches (Fundic, 2022: 117). To the north of the inscription, there are fragments of an image of another saint are found. The assumption is that this is the other famous stylite saint Symeon (Fundic, 2022: 118). Daniel the Stylite's position is in a three-quarter posture, turning to the inscription, pointing to the text clarifying the donors and the ruler. The choice of stylites at Panagia Vellas, in a church built by military patrons is interesting. Stylites were not monks, they played an active role in societies. Depiction of saints on either side of the main entrance of the church can be linked to the idea of a triumphal entry (Fundic, 2022: 118). The iconographic programme of Panagia Vellas is to be viewed against this background. For a church founded by military officials to include such depictions is probably to emphasize cooperation between the church and the military as two key pillars of a Byzantine society (Fundic, 2022: 119).

Additionally, on the eastern wall of the narthex, in the middle, Virgin Mary is next to the donor couple. On the left side, what appears to be Protostrator Theodore, presents a model for the church to the Virgin. Under this scene, two small fresco icons are found. They show St Bacchus and probably St Sergios. The whole composition represents a prayer and offering of the donors to Virgin Mary, Christ and their protector saints (Fundic, 2022: 118).

3.2.6 The Paregoritissa

The cathedral, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Theotokos, is the most prominent church of Arta. Clearly designed to be Arta's new cathedral at the time, with its complex structure and rich decorative features, the monastery stands out stylistically and has commonalities with churches in Thessaloniki and Constantinople. Paregoretissa is the only church in Epirus with galleries, mosaic decorations and marble revetments, inviting comparisons and associations with Hagia Sophia (Georgiadou, 2015: 117). Another point demonstrating a clear link to the imperial capital is that Anna Palaiologina, who was the only Constantinopolitan among the ruling elite of Epirus, actively participated in the project's design and follow through (Georgiadou, 2015: 117). (Fig. 57-62)

Paregoritissa was not only an architectural monument, but also had a court ceremonial purpose. With Arta being the new capital, the royal family was in need of a monumental church to hold major celebrations. There are no written sources to confirm this, however the design of the church with galleries appears to support this thinking.

The Paregoretissa is interesting for its unconventional architectural applications. Along with its architectural and stylistic features, Paregoretissa is the key site in terms of the relevance for this research as it dates to the period after the migration from Constantinople and involves a mix of styles and influences. The Paregoretissa is a prominent example of the Constantinopolitan architecture, particularly its initial phase with four columned variants, four subsidiary domes, blind arches, and exterior niches (Vocotopulos, 1998/99: 81). Its masonry, as well as the ambulatory, porticoes, galleries,

side chapels, blind arches, domes and mosaics have a Constantinopolitan design (Georgiadou, 2015: 117).

The Paregoretissa had two main building phases. The cathedral dates to 1283-96 (Ousterhout, 1999: 102). Its initial cross-in-square plan was expanded by adding ambulatory spaces. The transformation took place approximately before 1290 and the cross-in-square plan changed into a naos that has an octagonal dome and ambulatory with two stories. The addition of the ambulatory is visible from the east façade as the masonry changes on the main apse (Ousterhout, 2019: 568).

It was built in the late 13th century by Nikephoros I Comnenos Doukas information which can be seen on the honorary inscription at the entrance of the church. (Fig. 67) The difference between the ground floor masonry and the rest confused many researchers like A. Orlandos and G. Velenis; according to Orlandos, the cathedral was initially designed not to have the chapels for stability reasons; the original plan was altered so the chapels were added. (Fig. 63-64). The recent findings and excavations agree with Velenis' idea that this building was a smaller cruciform church similar to the Pantanassa in Philippi which is again from the thirteenth century. According to the excavations, findings of the four columns on the ground level canceled out the idea that the church initially had an octagonal plan. On the west and north sides, one can see the original height, the removal of the mortar, masonry, and ceramic decoration (Papadopoulou, 2002: 137). Overall, the church's exterior and ground plan follow the pattern of Byzantine churches.

One of the most prominent features of the Paregoretissa is its architectural ornamentation. The two rows of uneven marble sealed columns that raise on top of each other are brought from Ambrakia or Nikopolis. These columns have varied Corinthian capitals which have sloped parts at the top dating back to Roman or early Christian times (Papadopoulou, 2002: 145). The west and north arches are decorated with relief compositions where Western influences can be seen. There is a relief representation of the Nativity with standard elements from the scene, such as Joseph, the shepherds, the evangelists, and the prophets. The independent figures carrying a scroll with Greek inscriptions and traces of red cloth are visible. The way the sculptures are arranged is similar to the Gothic or Romanesque church pillars. On top there is the Lamb carrying the cross surrounded by the evangelists, with an inscription related to the Passion of the Cross. The evangelists are followed by prophets like Solomon, David, Job, and others (Papadopoulou, 2002: 147). The Lamb is a very western inspired figure and it was forbidden to represent any three dimensional imagery in eastern churches according to the Council of Trullo of 679, Canon 82 (Shahan, 1908). The architectural ornamentation in the Paregoretissa is highly influenced by Western art and it is believed that the Comnenos-Doukas family invited western artists to work in Arta. (Fig. 68-72) The only remaining part of marble iconostasis is the pillar as the rest was destroyed during the Ottoman rule. The floor of the main church was also paved with marble slabs which was replaced during the Ottoman occupation (Papadopoulou, 2002: 149).

The mosaics of Paregoretissa are on the eastern and southern domes. The mosaics were renovated during the nineteenth century. On the dome, there is the Pantokrator mosaic where Christ's head is surrounded by a cross halo, and he has a strict expression on his face. The cheeks are radiant and different colors of mosaics were used. The rest of the

dome has the figure of twelve prophets including the Seraphim and angels surrounding the Christ. The majority of the mosaic is not present today and the prophets depicted are in different postures, all wearing tunics and robes that are lightly colored holding scrolls. The winged figures are depicted with a human form whereas the four evangelists are represented on the four domes. The mosaic of Pantokrator is different than the prophets, as stylistically the Pantokrator is closer to the forms we see in icons. There are many different and bold colors used in the mosaics and all the facial expressions are given. These mosaics are dated to the end of the thirteenth century and assumed to be made during the second phase of the Paregoretissa (Papadopoulou, 2002: 154).

Stylistically, the influence of Constantinople and Thessaloniki is visible on these mosaics. Apart from the mosaics of the dome, which belong to the initial phase of the church, the frescoes on the niche date to the sixteenth century and others on the walls of the main church to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Older frescoes were discovered in the northern chapel, dating to the early fifteenth century (Papadopoulou, 2002: 141).

The result of the movement to Epirus can be traced in this monastery as well with its eclectic features that were brought together consciously aiming to have a new cathedral for Arta. The predominantly Byzantine style architecture of Paregoritissa, combined with a variety of decorative styles, including western influences, demonstrate both the impact of the migration from Constantinople, as well as the raised profile and wealth of Arta, which allowed for attracting western artists as well. The fact that some oddly and not symmetrical decoration of the eastern façade and the galleries were left

undecorated supports the idea that not all elements of the monastery were fully completed (Ousterhout, 2019: 569). It was most probably rushed because there was an urgent demand for such a church and the donors had the money and the influence to respond to the demand. The additional factor was the sudden or brief availability of builders, artisans, or craftsmen.

3.2.7 St. Basil/Agios Basileos

The church dates to the end of the 13th century and built under the commission of Nikephoros. It represents one of the best examples that show the high quality of exterior brickwork despite being smaller in scale. It is a one-aisled basilica that has small lateral chapels (Ousterhout, 2019: 567). (Fig. 76-77).

There are two earthenware, relief, tin-glazed icons of the Crucifixion and three holy hierarchs (Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom) on the eastern wall of the church. They were made in Arta probably by an Italian craftsman and they cannot be attributed exclusively to either Byzantine or Italian traditions but have more in common with the latter. Though they are unique in Byzantine architecture, they are not unique among northwestern Greek ceramics. (Fig 73) This could be a phase of experimentation (Papadopoulou et al. ,1993: 254-255) as maiolica wares were being introduced. There are also reticulate revetments done in tile which is common in Byzantine architecture after the 10th century while reticulate bands done in alternating tiles and stones were introduced to the Despotate's churches as part of a general trend towards the enrichment of the decorative vocabulary. (Fig. 79) The colorful bands in St. Basil can be linked to certain trends that arose from time to time in Byzantine architecture but polychrome is due to Italian influence. (Fig. 74-78). Therefore, the

icons might have been done by an Italian craftsman. The technique is purely Italian (Mastrotheodoros, 2017: 272).

3.2.8. Agia Theodora

This is a church that was dedicated to the patron saint of Arta, the wife of Michael II, St. Theodora and renovated mostly during the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century (Fig. 80-83). The church is a mix of different traditions, Byzantine and Western, courtly and monastic (Fig. 84). The purpose for the construction of this church is unclear, it may have been part of the imperial project that included Pantanassa and Paregoretissa with the objective of supporting the imperial claims, highlighting cultural integration or simply emphasizing the power of the rulers (Georgiadou, 2015: 107).

Theodora became a nun when her husband Michael II passed away and she started to stay in this monastery. She was then buried in this church and the place became a pilgrimage place and she then became the saint of the city Arta (Fundic 2022, 80).

The church was built on middle Byzantine ruins and it is a basilica with three-aisles. The frescoes were painted on the nave and the sanctuary in the thirteenth century which are partly preserved (Fundic 2022, 80) (Fig. 85-87). One of these frescoes on the northern wall depicts an unusual scene; knight and a centaur-archer fighting with each other (Fig. 89). In Christian myths, the centaurs are considered evil and the soldier on the white horse with his military armour covered with purple tunic can be attested to the Palaiologan representation or the outfit of a crusader (Fundic 2022, 80). The selection of such subject can be attributed to the Frankish influence and culture.

Another western influence can be observed in the addition of a portico that is covered with ribbed groin vaults. This addition is dated to late thirteenth century (Fundic 2022, 116).

The development of Byzantine iconographic program can be seen in the narthex' wall paintings with subjects the Old and New Testaments. These include representations of prophetic messages regarding human salvation as per the New Testament (Fundic, 2022: 127). (Fig. 88, 90)

Overall, as we can see from the examples provided in this chapter, the Epirote patrons and donors continuously sought to express political propaganda, pursue legitimacy and inspire loyalty through architecture and art in Arta and elsewhere in Epirus. This was directly linked to the imperial ambitions of the Epirote rulers, which emerged due to and were reinforced by the migration of certain aristocratic families from Constantinople. In the absence of direct military confrontation with other Byzantine states this was a potent method of propaganda.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Migration is a common behavior of human beings. Different forms of migration, including forced displacement, formation of diasporas, integration, repatriation, resettlement, population transfers and others – are all impactful events that effect change in both the communities of origin and destination.

Studying different aspects of migratory movements and their impact in archaeology poses a number of challenges. Information can be limited and biased. Isolating the impact of migration from the impact of other contemporary political, social or economic processes can be challenging. One immediate conclusion from research is the need to balance different sources of information. Thus, focusing on archaeological information only, or limiting analysis to historical evidence are equally flawed approaches. The complementarity of the two is evident and, where possible, it should be supported by the opportunities offered by advances in sciences, allowing for bioarchaeological and biogeoarchaeological analysis. Also, while migration has typically been traced through geographical distribution of similar finds, it has to be remembered that such distribution is also possible due to trade, transfer of knowledge and culture.

In this thesis, the focus has been on the impact the migration of a specific group of the population from Constantinople to Epirus after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders had on architecture and art in Arta in the thirteenth century. The choice of Epirus in 1204-1261 was to isolate a specific migratory movement related to a singular dramatic event – sack of Constantinople and a specific geographic location which was a destination for such migration . Otherwise, Epirus has been a destination for multiple migratory movements before, during and after that period, including of Latins, Serbs and Albanians.

The events of the Fourth Crusade produced refugee flows, but perhaps not at a scale previously thought. The contemporary sources, such as the writings of John Apokaukos, Demetrios Chomatianos and George Bardanes reveal strong pro-Epirus positions, promoting Epirote independence both politically and ecclesiastically. As such, their writings and opinions should not be seen as objectively reflecting the situation and representative of the totality of the Byzantine view after 1204 (Angold, 1995: 213-241, Van Tricht, 2011: 12). As an example of this, one of the main contemporary sources, Demetrios Chomatianos notes that at least half of refugees fleeing Constantinople headed to Epirus (Nicol, 1976: 11). However, as Van Tricht indicated, many of those settled in Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, which remained under Latin control before Epirote rulers added them to the territories of the Despotate. As such, their intentions may not have been to move to Epirus (Van Tricht, 2011: 31-32).

In the second chapter, along with a review of the sources, the thesis provides a brief overview of the situation in Epiros before and after 1204. The review of the historical

context particularly in the thirteenth century allows us to connect the developments in architecture and art in Arta to the political developments and trace the change in the motivations and intentions of the Epirote rulers and patrons of art and architecture.

The third chapter examines the architecture and art in Arta with specific examples of the church architecture to better understand the impact of the aristocratic families arriving from Constantinople.

How was Epirus affected or rather, changed by migration? It is important to remember that migration happened at the same time as Epirus emerged as one of the successor states of the Byzantine empire. As Van Tricht indicates, it is possible to trace a relatively fewer number of aristocratic families after 1204, so the fate of the majority of them is unknown (Van Tricht, 2011: 37). Van Tricht was able to trace 23 families which stayed within the territories of the Latin empire, another 21 in Nicaea and 13 to Epirus, including Apokaukos, Chamaretos, Chomatianos, Dokeianos, Doukas, Kataphloron, Comnenos, Makrembolites, Melissenos, Mesopotamites, Pediadites, Pegonites, and Senachereim (Van Tricht, 2011: 36).

Elevation of Epirus' political and military status was taking place with a similar boost in profile in Nicaea and the resulting dispersion of power and capital, which was previously concentrated in Constantinople. The regions continued to share culture and a largely Byzantine identity, though competition and conflict between regions intensified.

The political change in Epirus however is not immediately matched by significant expansion in monumental architecture and investment in art. Prinzing's outline of the

history of Epirus in the thirteenth century divides it into three phases (1204-1214, 1215-30 and 1231-61) (Prinzing, 2016: 81-82). This outline follows the key events that shaped Epirus during this period, with the first two periods reflecting Michael I Comnenos Doukas' and Theodore's reigns and the third including the period after the defeat of Theodore at Klokotnica which significantly undermined Epirus' imperial ambitions, and ending with the Nicaean takeover of Constantinople, which effectively ended the said ambitions (Prinzing, 2016: 81-84).

Examination of the Epirote architecture during this period reveals a significant impact of the Byzantine style. But with the raised profile of Epirus, its rulers were able to attract talent from other directions, particularly the west. In addition to the Byzantine influences, we also see Italian influences during this period.

The impact of urban elites was seen in terms of politics, as well as in the decisions taken about the political, military and religious constructions. But Epirus became a destination for not only urban elites, but also architects, craftsmen, sculptors and other artists. Constantinopolitan mosaicists worked next to Gothic style experts and Italian sculptors.

Arta, the capital of the Despotate, saw most change in urban construction. It turned into a major trade center and the increase in capital helped fund the ambitious construction that took place. Arta produced fine churches, including the Paregoretissa monastery with mixed influences of Greece, Macedonia and Constantinople, as well as Italy (Shea, 2010: 201).

It is interesting to trace motivations of the migrating population. At the beginning, there appears to have been a strong expectation of return to Constantinople, which was undoubtedly supported by early military successes of the Despotate of Epirus. The iconographic program in Agios Demetrios Katsouris is an example of themes related to the expected return to the imperial capital after the troubles of 1204, with parallels made to the theme of liberation of Israel and return of the Jews to Jerusalem after their trials in exile (Fundic. 2022:52-54).

Another trend was the desire to re-create the atmosphere of Constantinople. We see this in some examples of the construction that took place in Epirus; the move from basilicas to domed churches in the 13th century – like the Paregoritissa and the Pantanassa in Arta, or, as in the case of Blacherna church in Arta, the transformation of the existing basilica into a domed church (Georgiadou, 2015: 371). Another example of this is Panagia Vlacherna/Blacherna Monastery which was transformed into a nunnery and its name comes from the Blacherna in Constantinople (Ousterhout, 2019: 565).

Population movement, exchange of culture and various influences bring about change in the social structure of the receiving societies. Specific impact of prominent individuals, whether politicians, nobles or artists is difficult to trace in this context but can nonetheless be significant. The impact of the rulers is naturally the most significant and visible. For example, with the elevation of Epirus' status from a province to an independent state, there emerged a need for facilities with ceremonial purposes. Paregoritissa performed such a function, serving as a venue for major celebrations (Georgiadou, 2015: 121). Even when construction or renovation of a building was not a political, but a personal act, the resources at the rulers' disposal allowed them to make

significant contributions to architecture. For example, Kato Panagia monastery was built as a sign of repentance from Michael II (Fundic, 2022: 19).

Overall, the rulers of Epirus and other patrons tried to use architectural works and artistic production to announce their ambitions, boost their claim to the Byzantine throne and seek legitimacy in their competition with the rival successor states. Art and architecture have been potent methods of propaganda in the absence of a direct military conflict (Fundic, 2022: 152). As noted already, there is a distinct shift in the focus of patronage after 1230. Since the imperial ambitions of the Epirote rulers took a hit due to the defeat at Klokotnica their attention turned inwards. After that, and even more so after the Nicaean takeover of Constantinople, the emerging trend is that of Epirote rulers promoting their Constantinopolitan ascendancy and supporting independence (Fundic, 2022: 159). That said, throughout this entire period, there was a conscious effort to model Arta after the imperial capital as the ideological underpinning of the political and military efforts of the Despotate.

In the case of Epirus, the impact of migration was not expected to be very drastic since the population move occurred within the empire and within the same or similar cultural continuum. Despite changes in relative importance of one location versus the other, the economy, the politics and the military balance, there was no visibly significant cultural impact.

One interesting feature of this population of migrants from Constantinople is that unlike a generally flexible and adaptable attitude that migrants display in new areas, this particular group was not like that. They felt they were within their “domain” and hence

there were efforts to turn their new locations to make them more like Constantinople, rather than adapt to their new homes.

It can be concluded that even for the migratory movements that have taken place in a relatively recent time, such as the thirteenth century, the impact is difficult to trace in the absence of conclusive material or written evidence. Population movements that have occurred much earlier in history would be even harder to trace and evaluate. In case of Epirus, the refugee flow did have an impact, although against the backdrop of the rise in Epirus' political and military status, the evaluation of said impact has to be nuanced taking into account other factors, such as Epirus never truly ceasing to be within the political and cultural continuum of Byzantine empire.

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MAPS

Map 1. The boundaries of the Despotate of Epirus throughout the 13th century.

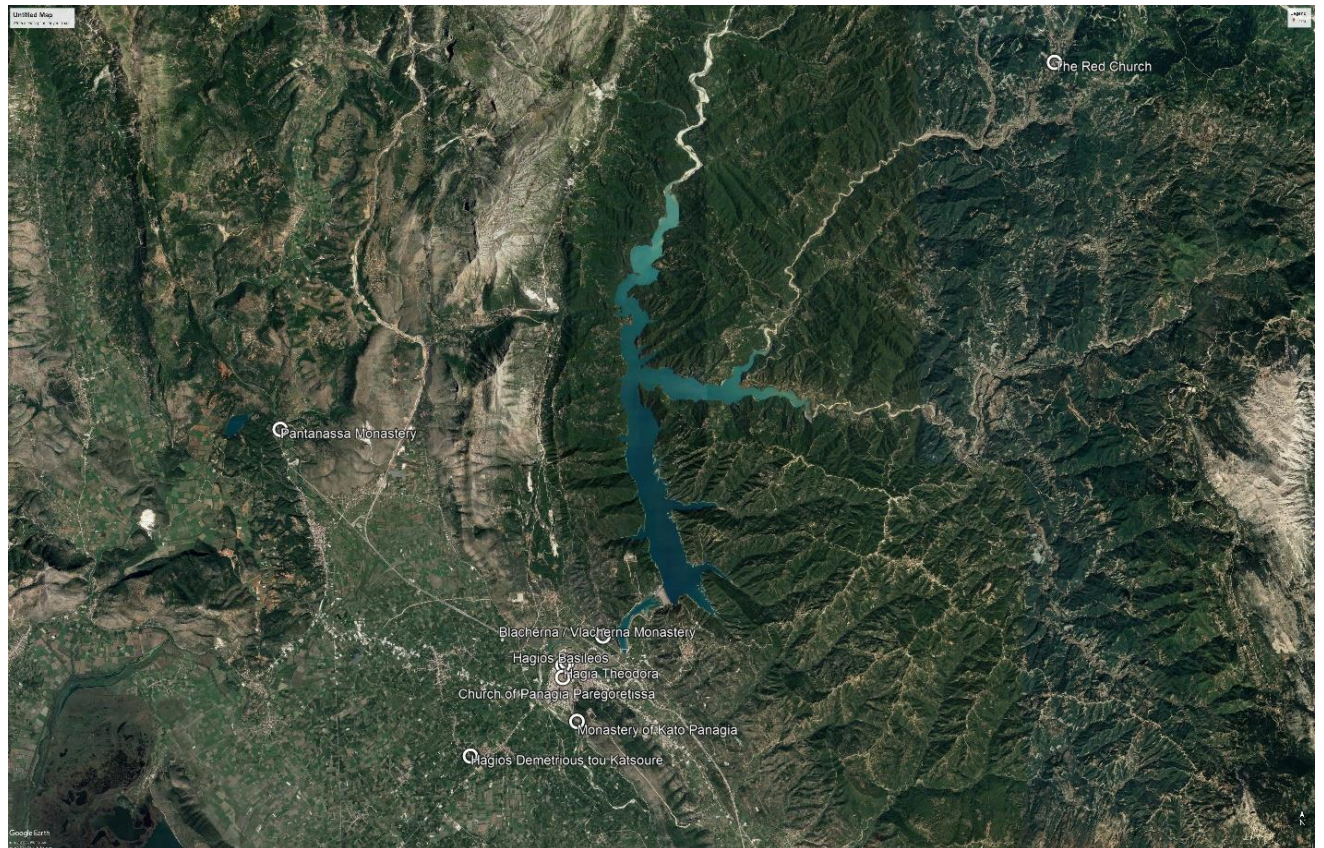
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Despotate_of_Epirus#/media/File:Epir1205-1230.png)



Map 2 : The city of today's Arta



Map 3 : Arta and its churches



FIGURES

Figure 1 : The Genealogy of the Despots of Epirus (Stokvis, 1889 : Vol 2, 457)

CHAPITRE VII. TABLEAU GÉNÉALOGIQUE N° 13.

GÉNÉALOGIE DES DESPOTES D'ÉPIRE, DES SÉBASTOKRATORS DE THESSALIE ET DES COMTES PALATINS DE CÉPHALONIE.

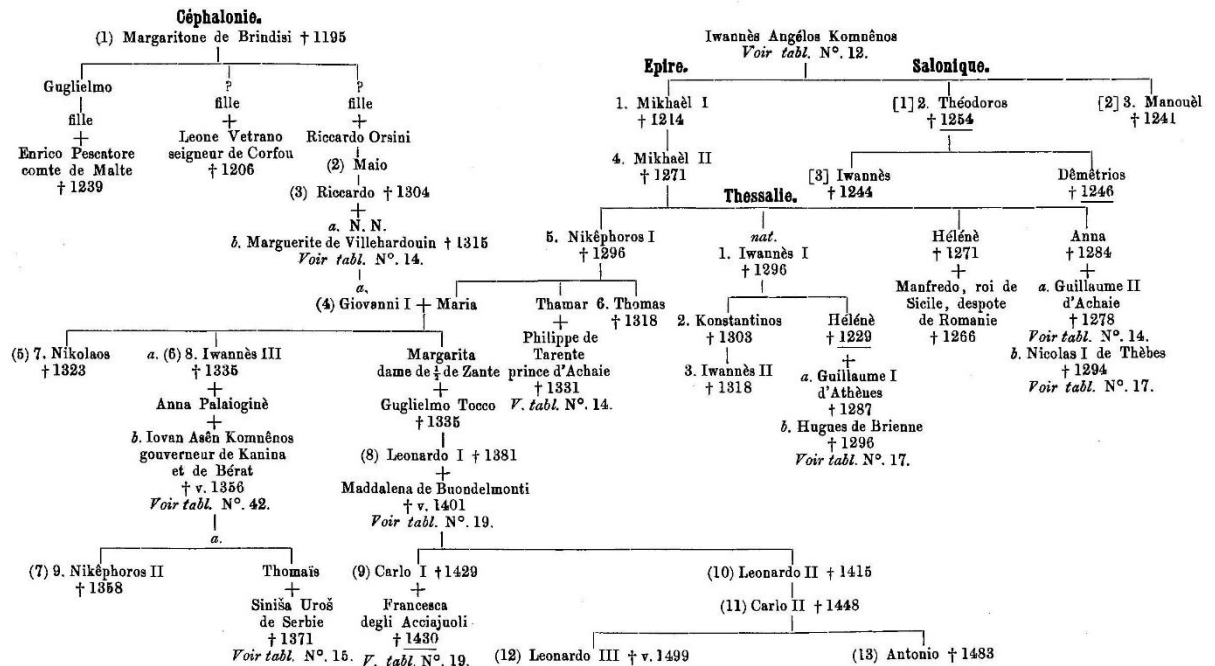


Figure 2 : Agios Demetrios tou Katsoure in Plesioi village near Arta, the east side. (Papadopolou, 2013: 135).



Figure 3: Agios Demetrios Katsouris, ground plan by Orlandos (Alferi, 2012: 74)

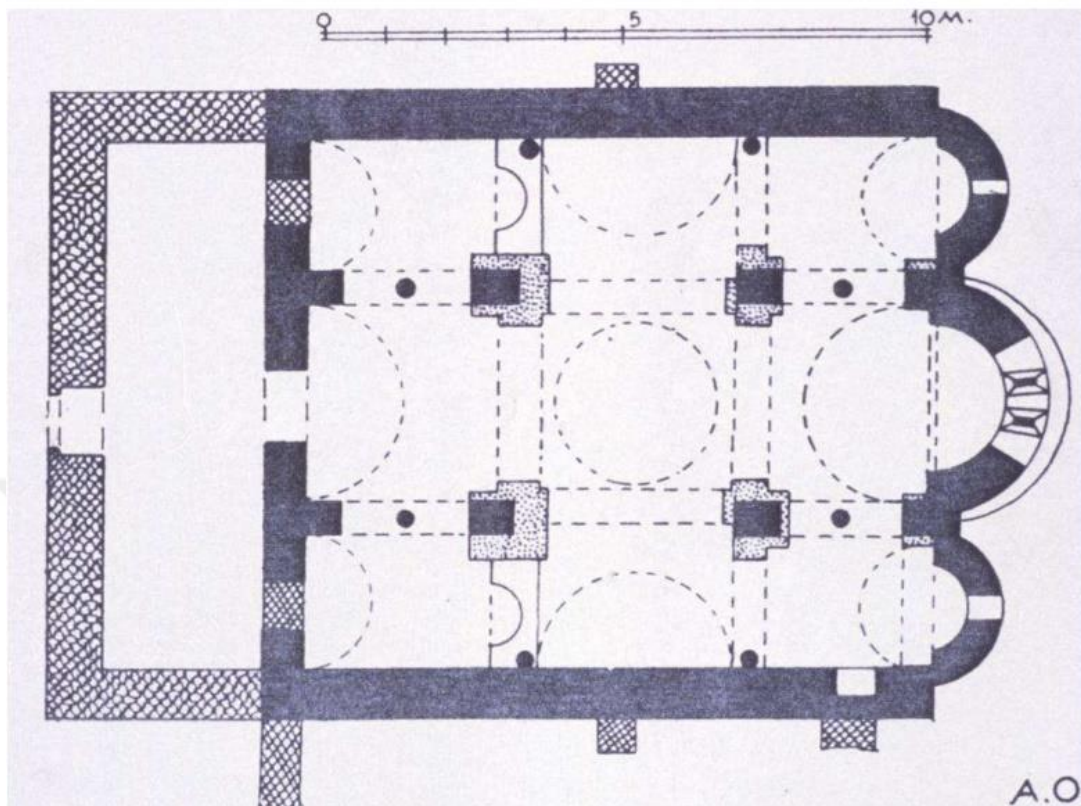


Figure 4 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, bell tower (Alferi, 2012: 74)

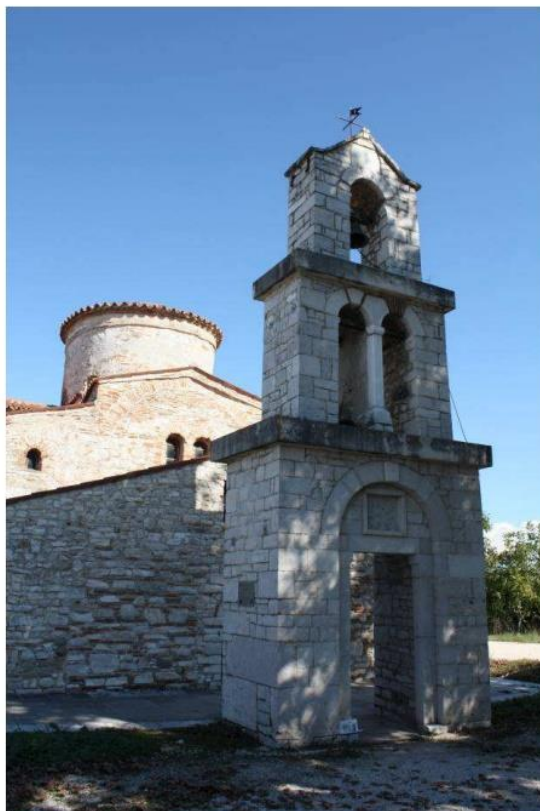


Figure 5 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, the eastern side (Alferi, 2012: 76).



Figure 6 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, the eastern side (Alferi, 2012: 76).



Figure 7 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, Bema, Communion of the Apostles. (Alferi, 2012: 100).



Figure 8 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, Bema Saints Blasios and Modestos (Papadopoulou, 2013: 136).



Figure 9 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, Bema (Alferi, 2012: 101).



Figure 10 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, View of the dome (Alferi, 2012: 101)



Figure 11 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, Bema's vault, *The Ascension* (Alferi, 2012: 102).



Figure 12 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, southern vault, *The Nativity and Finding in the Temple* (Alferi, 2012: 102).



Figure 13 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, relief on right side of the door in southeastern pillar of the dome. *Temple* (Alferi, 2012: 82).



Figure 14 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, relief above the entrance of prothesis (Alferi, 2012: 83).



Figure 15 : Agios Demetrios Katsouris, relief on the belltower. (Alferi, 2012: 83).

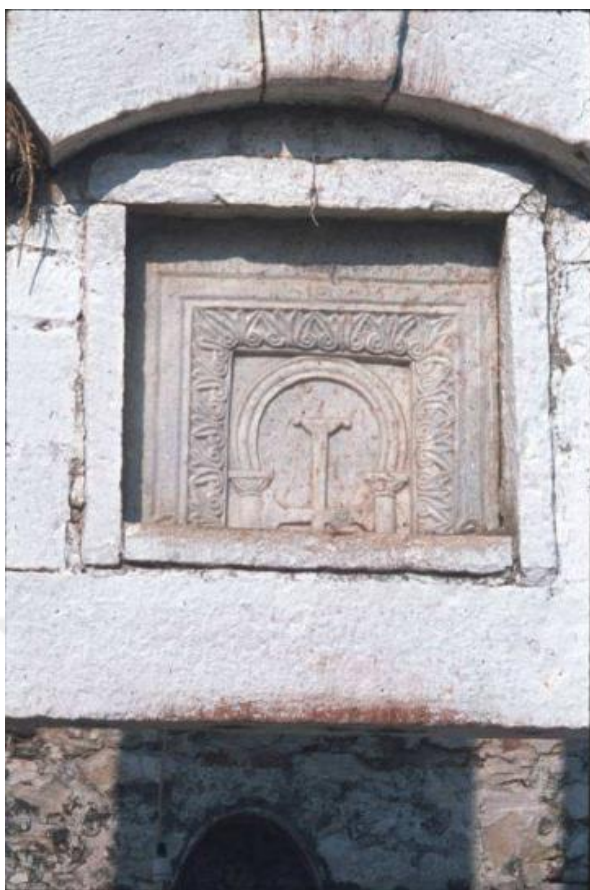


Figure 16 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, the east side. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 70).

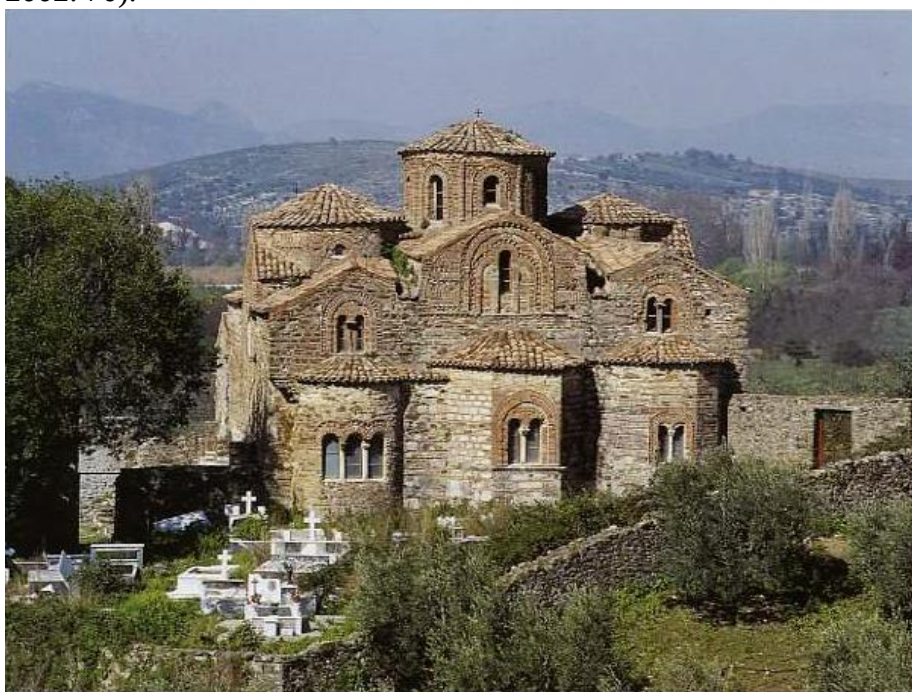


Figure 17 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, top view. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 71).

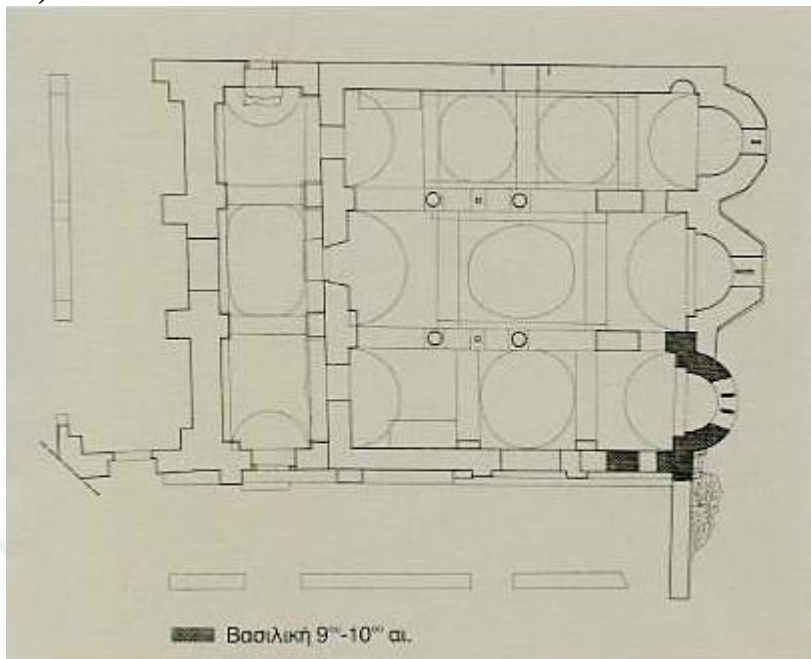


Figure 18 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, east side drawing. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 72).

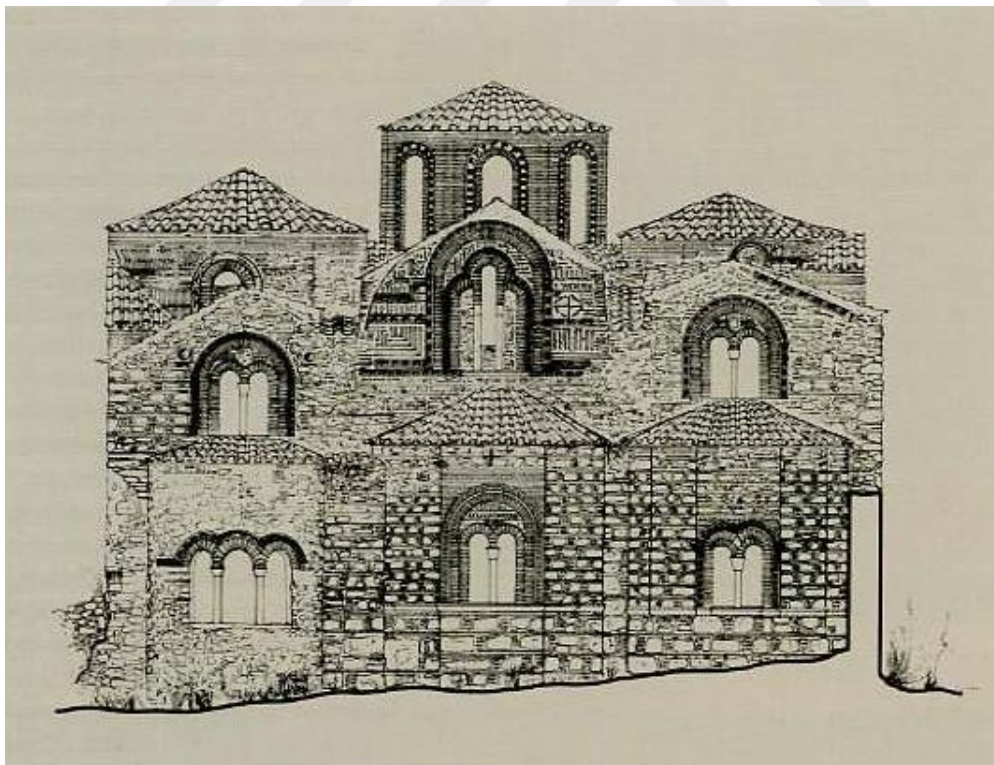


Figure 19 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, south side drawing. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 73).

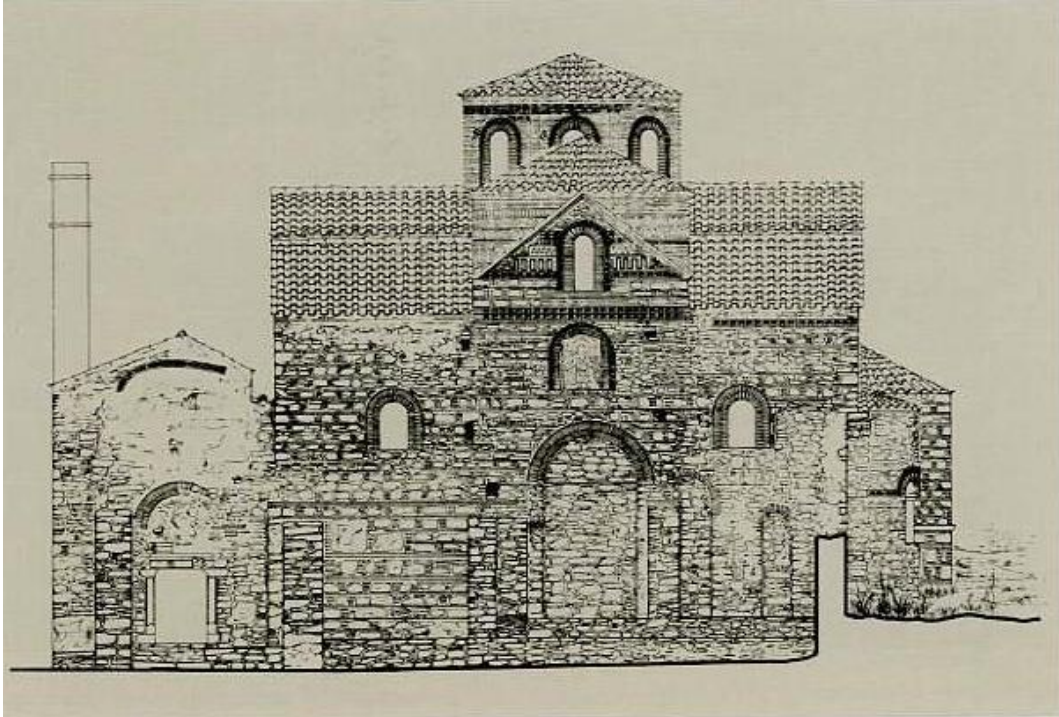


Figure 20 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, window niche. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 74).

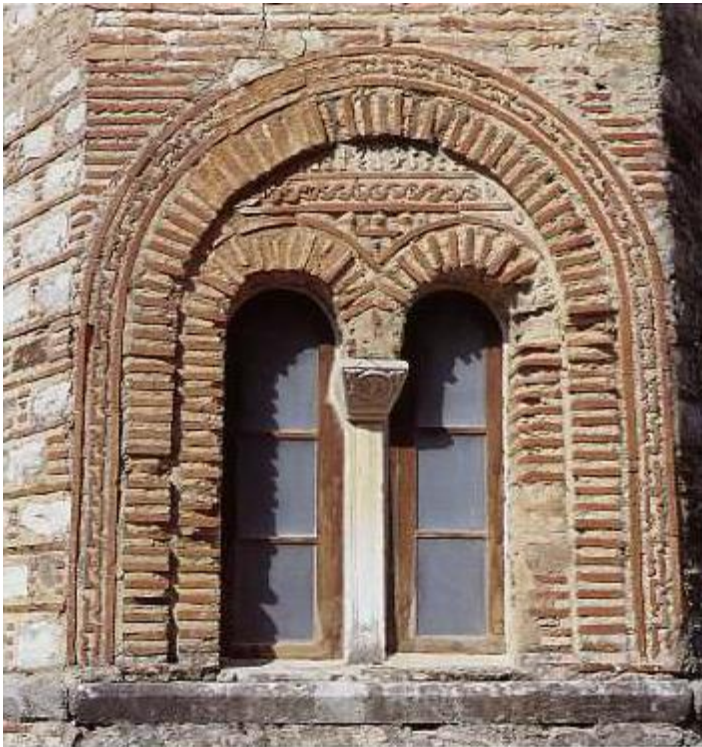


Figure 21 :Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, relief of the Archangel Michael, southern side. (Papadopoulou, 2002: 74).



Figure 22 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, iconostasis photo and drawing.
(Papadopoulou, 2002 : 75).



Figure 23 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, the tomb at southern side.
(Papadopoulou, 2002: 74).



Figure 24 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, the layout of the marbles (Papadopoulou, 2002: 79).

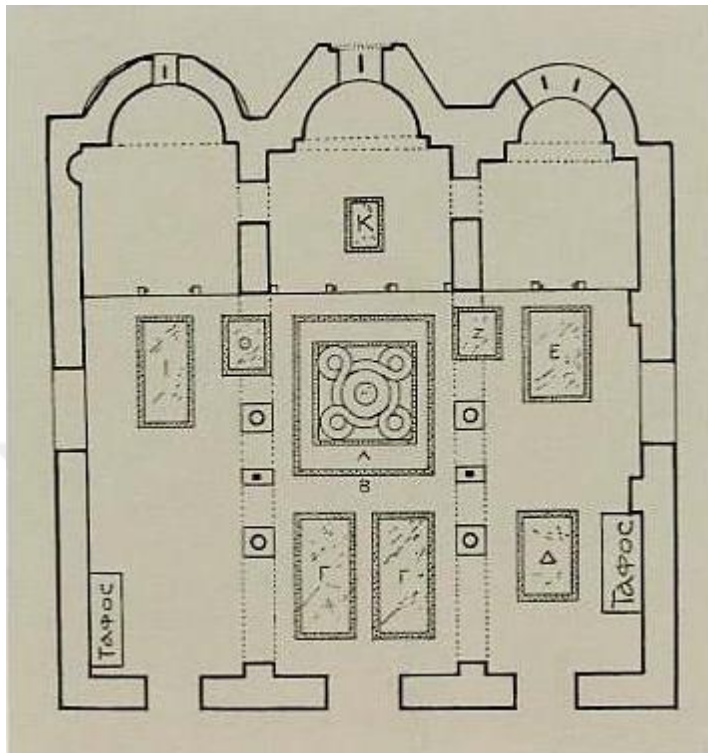


Figure 25 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, flooring at the center (Papadopoulou, 2002: 79).



Figure 26: Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, mural painting for the scene *The Betrayal* (Papadopoulou, 2002: 81).



Figure 27: Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, mural painting on the narthex, *Representing the Ecumenical Synod* (Papadopoulou, 2002: 84).



Figure 28 : Panagia Vlacherna/ Blacherna Monastery, mural painting on the narthex, *Litany of Hodegetria* (Papadopoulou, 2002: 85).



Figure 29 : Kato Panagia, Arta: View of the church from the west (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 446)



Figure 30: Kato Panagia, Arta: View of the church from the southeast (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 446)



Figure 31 : Kato Panagia, Arta: The inscription and monogram of Michael Komnenos Doukas (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 448).



Figure 32 : Kato Panagia, Arta: The central apse of the church and the apse of the diakonikon (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou 2015, 449).



Figure 33 : Kato Panagia, Arta: Carved inscription on the north façade (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 451).



Figure 34 : Kato Panagia, Arta: Plan and section (after Orlandos, “Κάτω Παναγιά,” fig. 4). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 447).

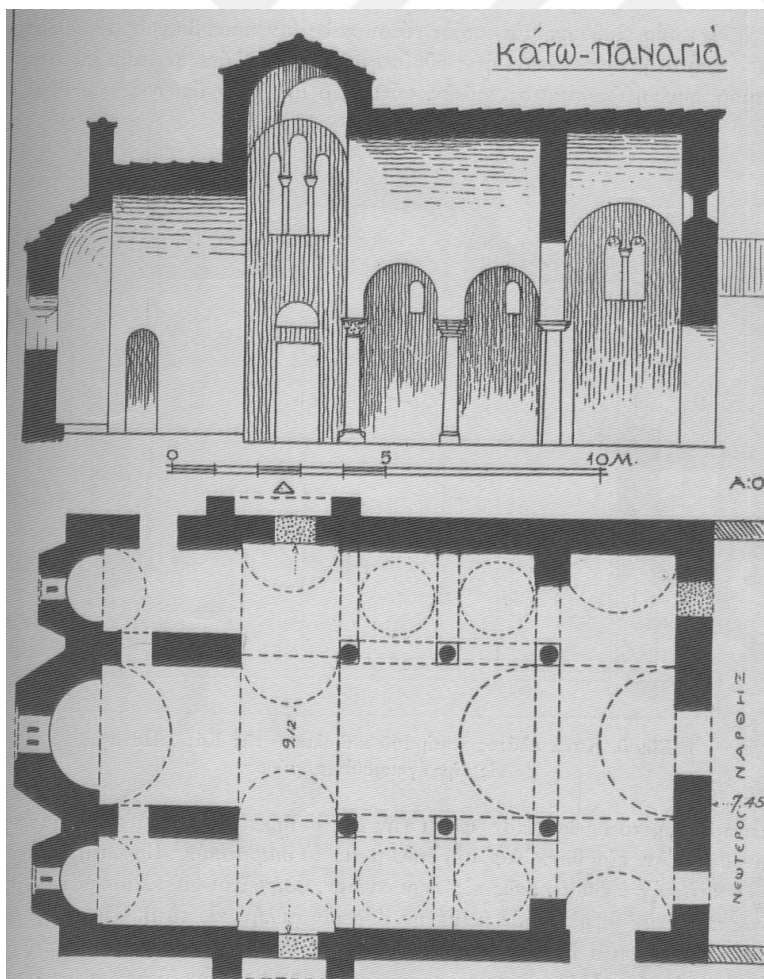


Figure 35 : Kato Panagia, Arta: Joachim's Offerings Rejected. Diakonikon, vault (after Giannoulis, *Τοιχογραφίες Άρτας*, pl. 43) (Georgiadou, 2015 : 452).



Figure 36 : Kato Panagia, Arta: Christ Teaching in the Temple. Diakonikon, vault (after Giannoulis, *Τοιχογραφίες Άρτας*, pl. 46) (Georgiadou, 2015 : 452)



Figure 37 : Kato Panagia, Arta: Christ, the Ancient of days; St. Meletios, St. Nikephoros, and St. Eleutherios. Diakonikon, apse (after Giannoulis, *Τοιχογραφίες Άρτας*, fig. 183) (Georgiadou, 2015 : 453)



Figure 38 : Kato Panagia, Arta: St. Anthimos (left) and St. Gregory of Great Armenia (right).Diakonikon, north wall (after Giannoulis, *Τοιχογραφίες Άρτας*, fig. 190). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 453)



Figure 39 : Pantanassa Philippiados : Northwest view of the church. (Georgiadou, 2015 : 456).



Figure 40 : Pantanassa Philippiados : Plan (Georgiadou, 2015 : 456).

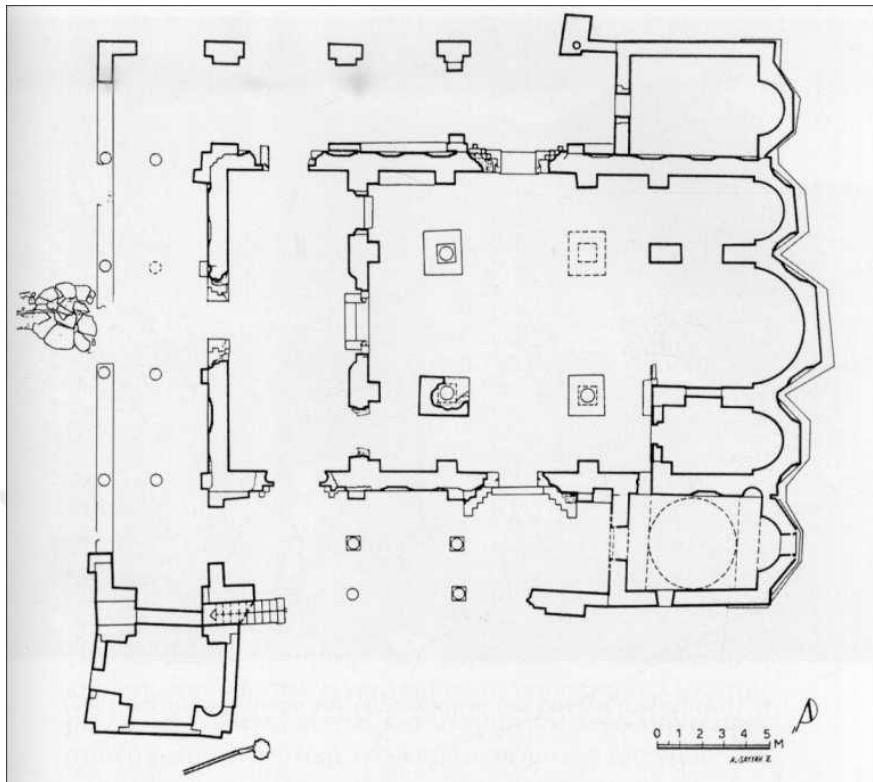


Figure 41 : Pantanassa Philippiados, eastern facade (Georgiadou, 2015 : 457).



Figure 42 : Pantanassa Philippiados, west facade of the narthex and the portico (Georgiadou, 2015 : 457).



Figure 43 : Pantanassa Philippiados, Portico and the chapel (Georgiadou, 2015 : 459).



Figure 44 : Pantanassa Philippiados, The lower zone of the main church, fresco decoration imitating marble (Georgiadou, 2015 : 461).



Figure 45 : Pantanassa Philippiados, Opus sectile floor of the narthex (Georgiadou, 2015 : 463).



Figure 46 : Pantanassa Philippiados, Masonry fragment (Georgiadou, 2015 : 466).



Figure 47 : Pantanassa Philippiados, Inscription bearing the name Nikephoros (Georgiadou, 2015 : 466).



Figure 48 : Pantanassa Philippiados, Donors' portrait, detail in south portico (Georgiadou, 2015 : 470).



Figure 49 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, southwestern katholikon (Georgiadou, 2015 : 523).



Figure 50 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, west facade (Georgiadou, 2015 : 524).



Figure 51 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, north facade (Georgiadou, 2015 : 524).



Figure 52 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, portrait of the donor and his wife (Georgiadou, 2015 : 525).



Figure 53 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, detail of the inscription (Georgiadou, 2015 : 526).



Figure 54 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, plan (Georgiadou, 2015 : 527).

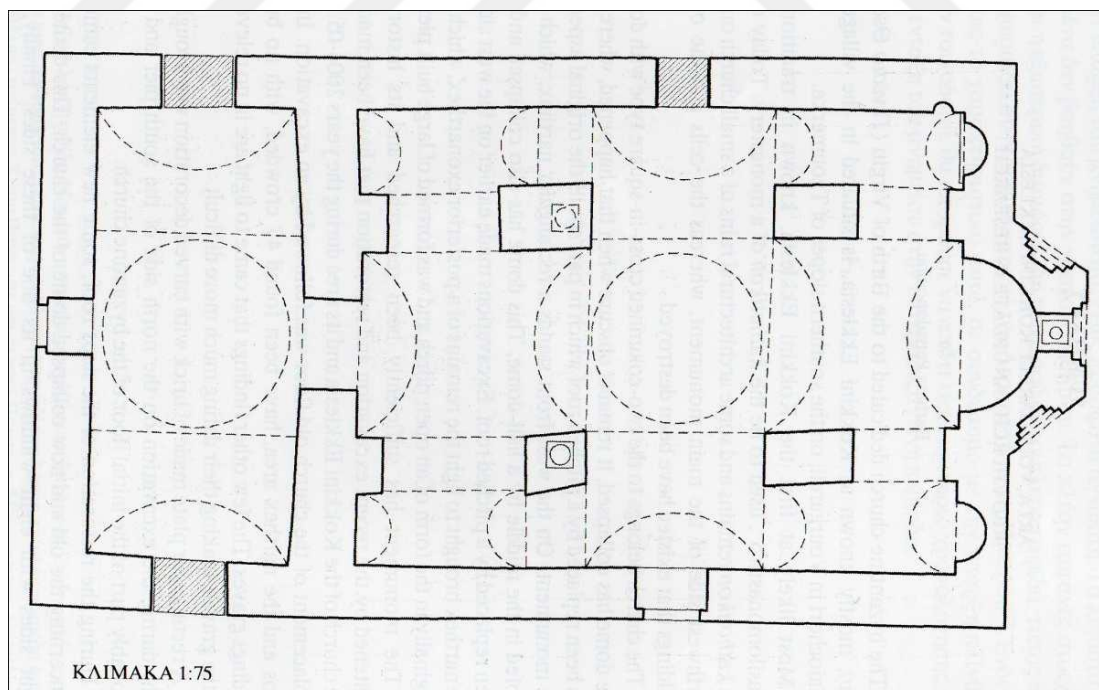


Figure 55 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli floor plan of the main temple (Papadopoulou 2008, 336).

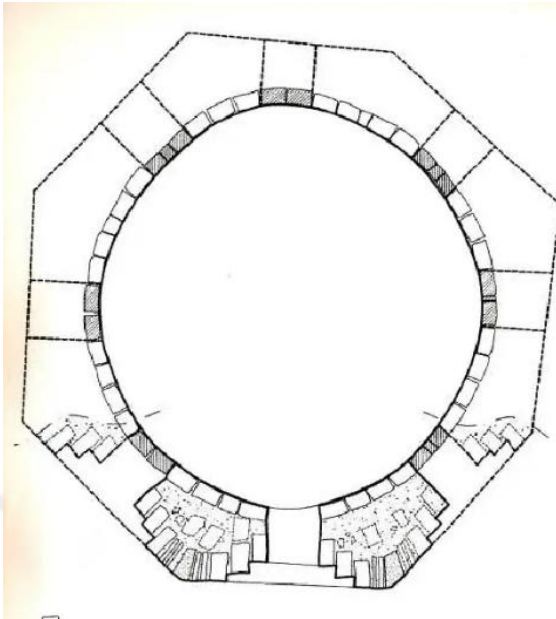


Figure 56 : Red Church, Panagia Bellas in Boulgareli, position of the tombs (Papadopoulou 2008, 335).

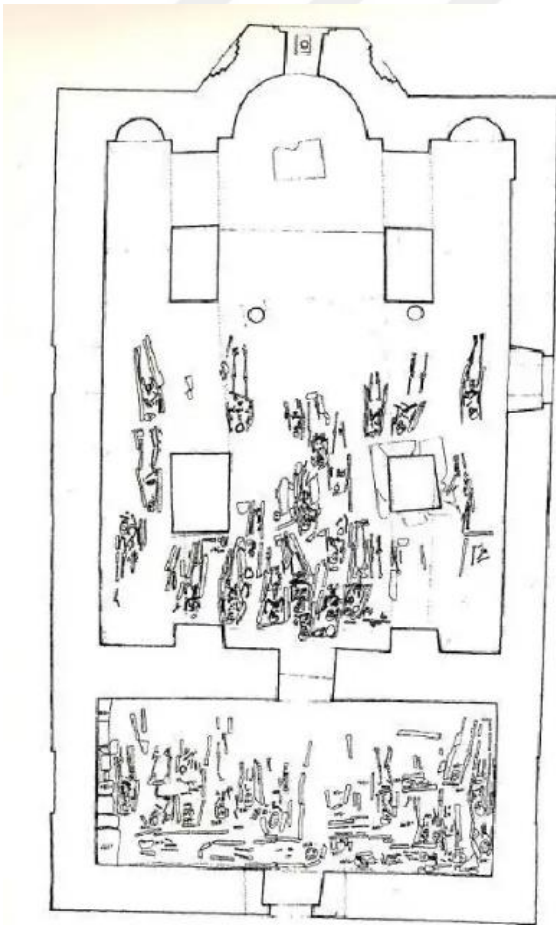


Figure 57 : Paregoretissa, Arta: View of the church from the northwest (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 472)



Figure 58 : Paregoretissa, Arta: East façade (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 472).



Figure 59 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the central apse of the east façade (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 473)



Figure 60 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the east façade (photo: R. Ousterhout).
(Georgiadou, 2015 : 474)

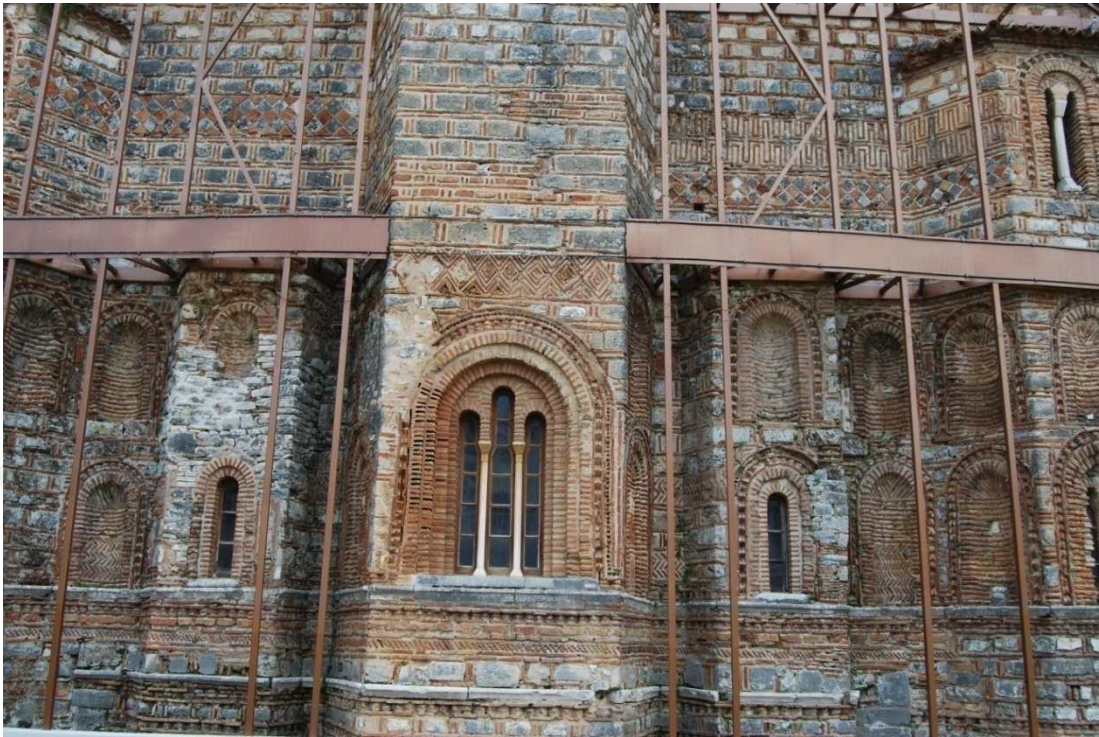


Figure 61 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the lower zone of the east façade (photo: R. Ousterhout).
(Georgiadou, 2015 : 474).

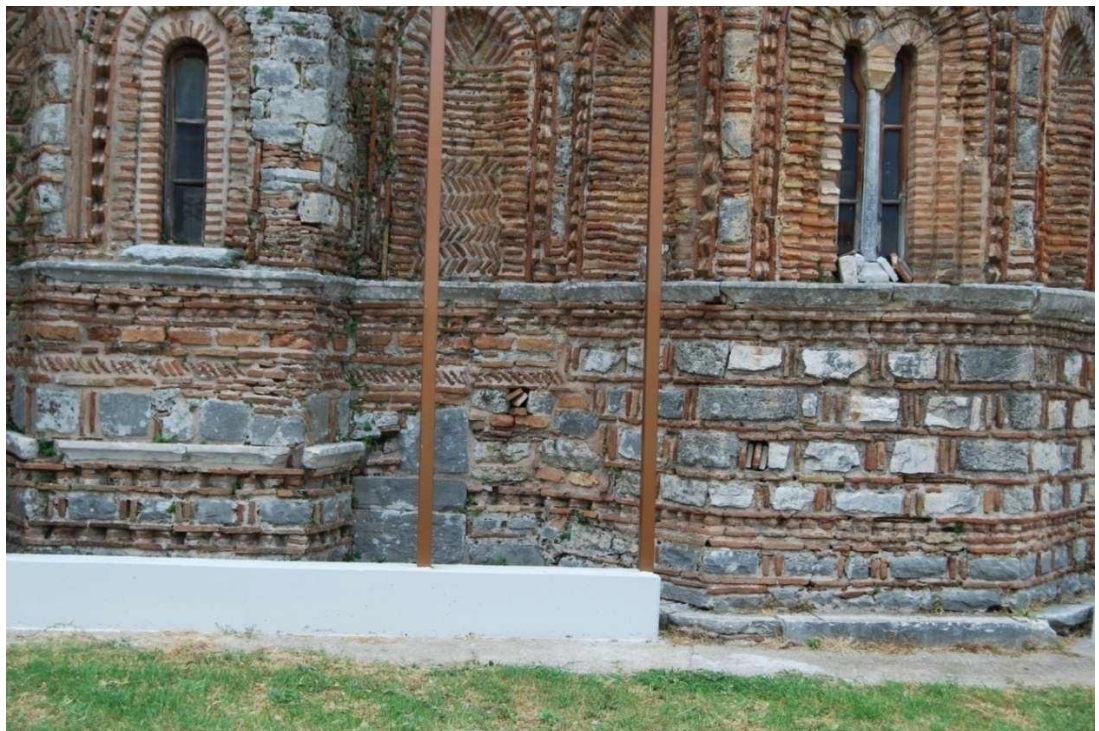


Figure 62 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the north side of the central apse (photo: R. Ousterhout) (Georgiadou 2015, 475).



Figure 63 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Plan at ground floor level (after Orlandos, Παρηγορήτισσα, fig.18). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 476)

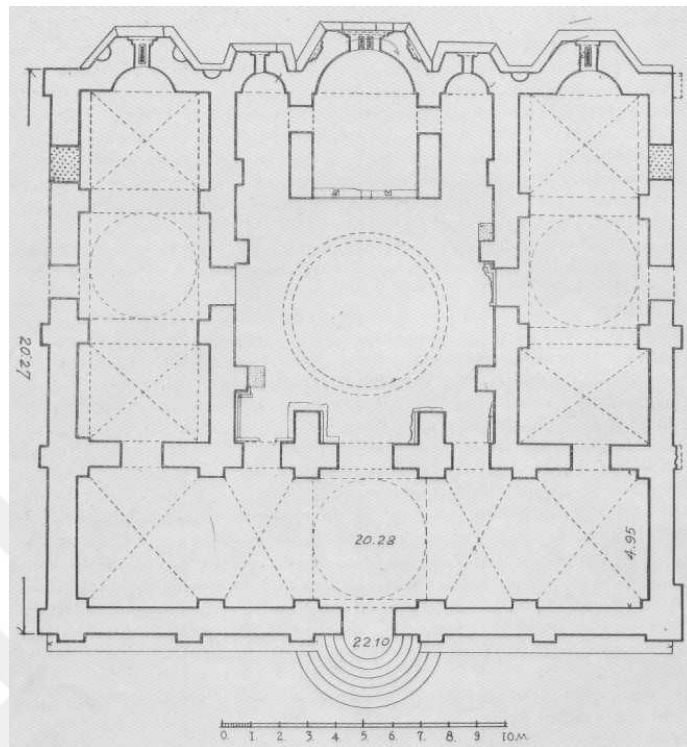


Figure 64 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Plan at gallery level (after Orlandos, Παρηγορήτισσα, fig. 44). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 476)

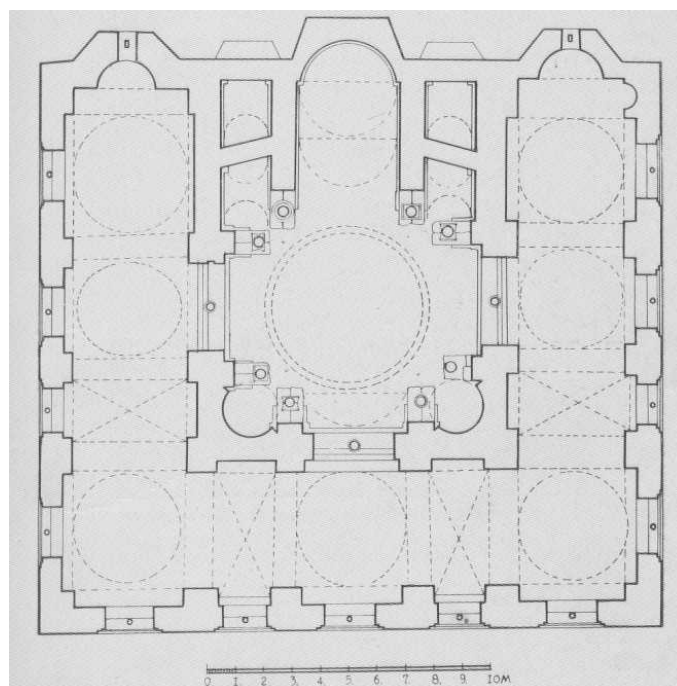


Figure 65 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the exterior north wall of the main church (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou, 2015 : 477).

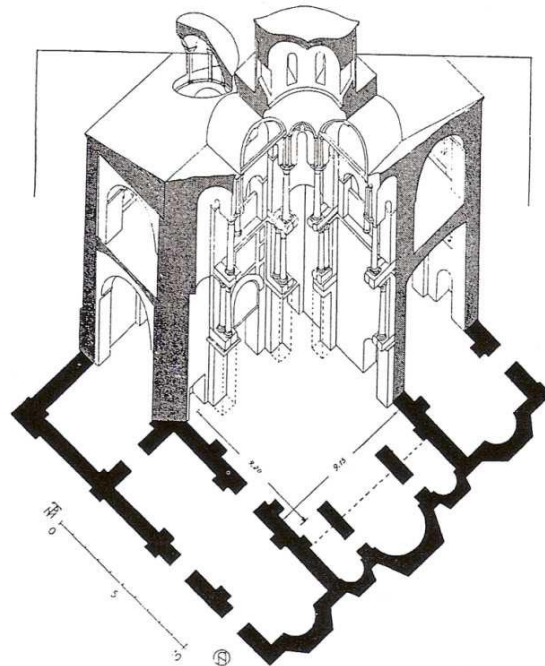


Figure 66 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Detail of the exterior north wall of the main church (photo: R. Ousterhout). (Georgiadou 2015, 478).



Figure 67 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Dedicatory inscription (Georgiadou, 2015 : 479).

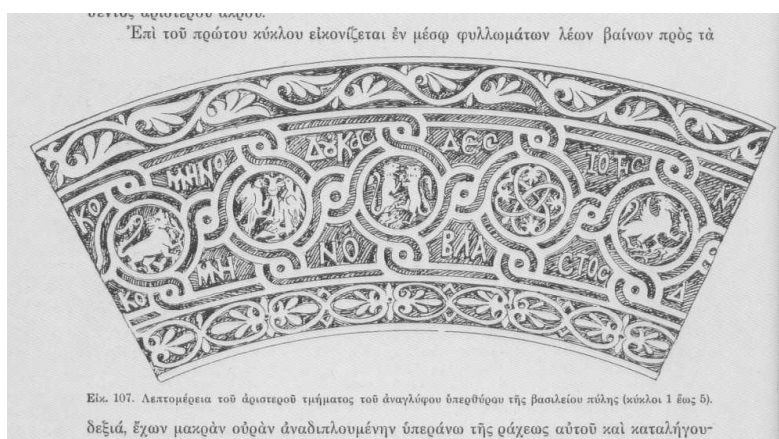
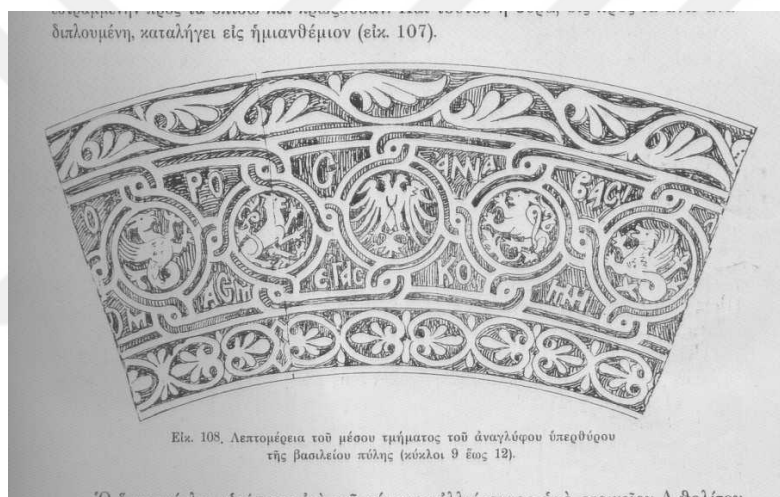


Figure 68 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Christ Pantokrator. View into the dome (after Papadopoulou, Βυζαντινή Άρτα, fig. 178) (Georgiadou, 2015 : 479).

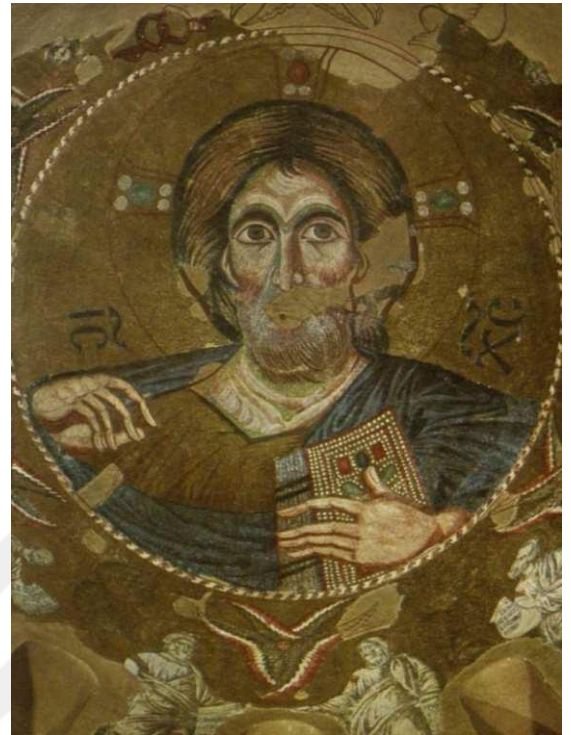


Figure 69 : Paregoretissa, Arta: a) Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah; b) Zephaniah (Sophonias) (after Orlandos, Παρηγορήτισσα, pls. 6 and 9). (Georgiadou 2015, 480)



Figure 70 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Illustrations showing the detail of the nativity on the north arch. Below showing Joseph and prophet king David. (Georgiadou 2015, 482-483)

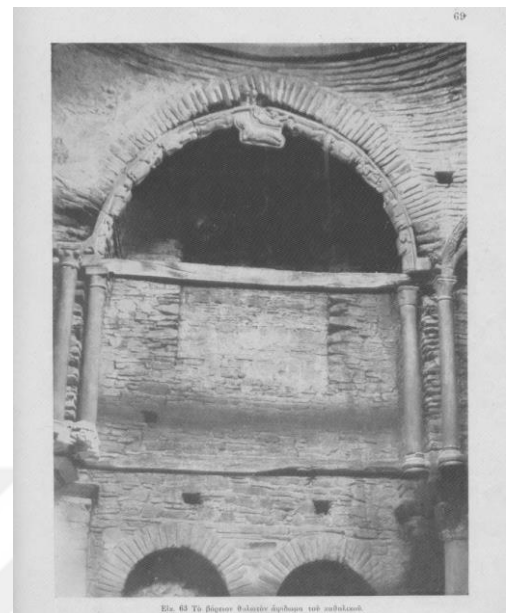
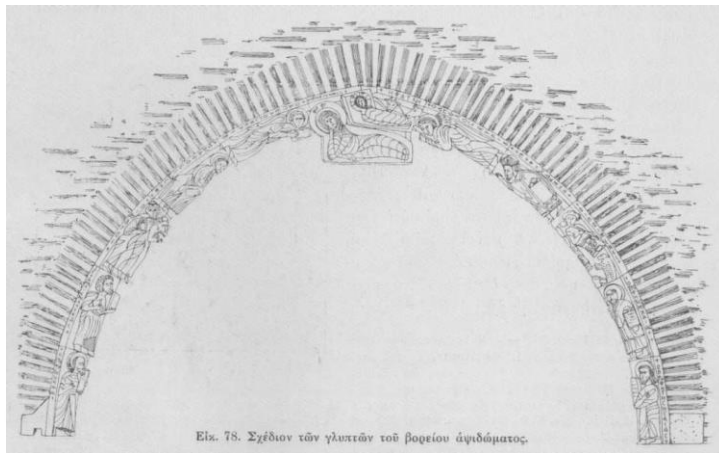


Figure 71 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Illustrations showing the detail of Crucifixion on west arch and below shown Solomon and David (Georgiadou, 2015 : 484)



ἵνα προσαρμοσθῇ πρὸς τὸ καμπύλον περιθώριον τοῦ ἀψιδώματος, ἡ δὲ ἀριστερὰ ἀνοικτὴ πρὸς τὰ κάτω ἀλλ' οὕτως, ὥστε νὰ φαίνεται τὸ ἐσωτερικόν της. Ἔχομεν λοιπὸν



Εἰκ. 94. Ὁ Προφητάναξ Σολομών.



Εἰκ. 95. Ὁ Προφητάναξ Δαυίδ.

μίαν ποροπτικὴν ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ ὄγκου τοῦ πτηνοῦ ἢ ὁποῖα τοῦ προσδίδει πολλὴν ζων

Figure 72 : Paregoretissa, Arta: Images showing the capitals of the upper arcade and below a detail of bracket depicting a dragon. (Georgiadou 2015, 485)

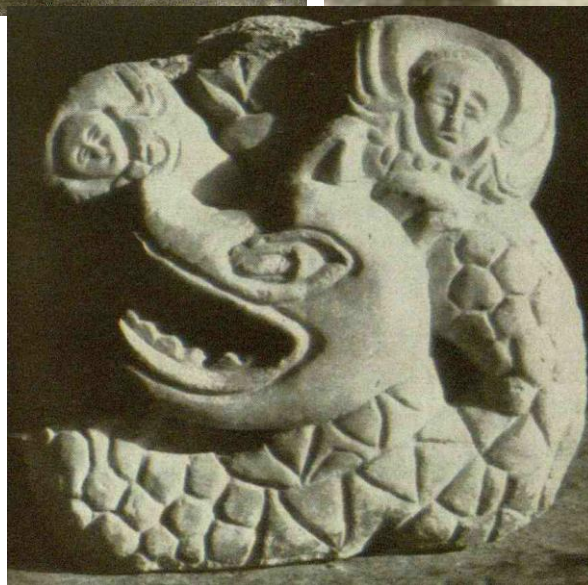


Figure 73: The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos (image source : <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/arta>)



Figure 74 : The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos (image source : <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/arta>)



Figure 75 : The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos (image source : <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/arta>)



Figure 76 : The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos (image source : <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/arta>)



Figure 77 : Plan of the Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos (image source : <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/arta>)

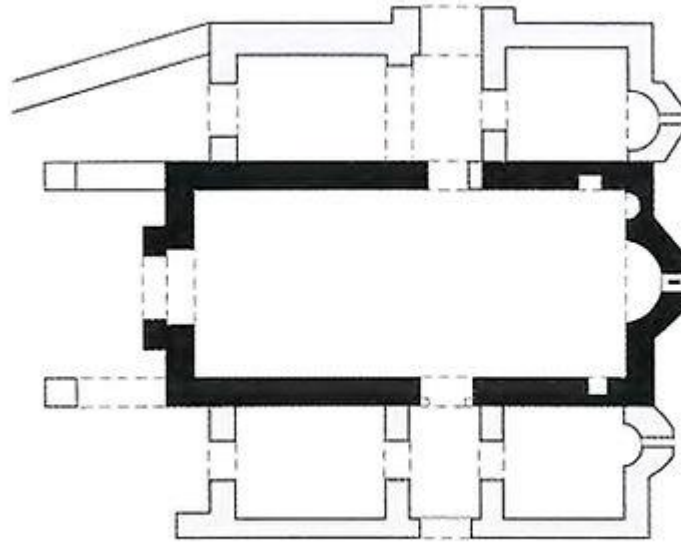


Figure 78 : The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos, left : Icon of Crucifixion, right : Icon of Three Ierarchs (Papadopoulou, et. al 1993, 257)

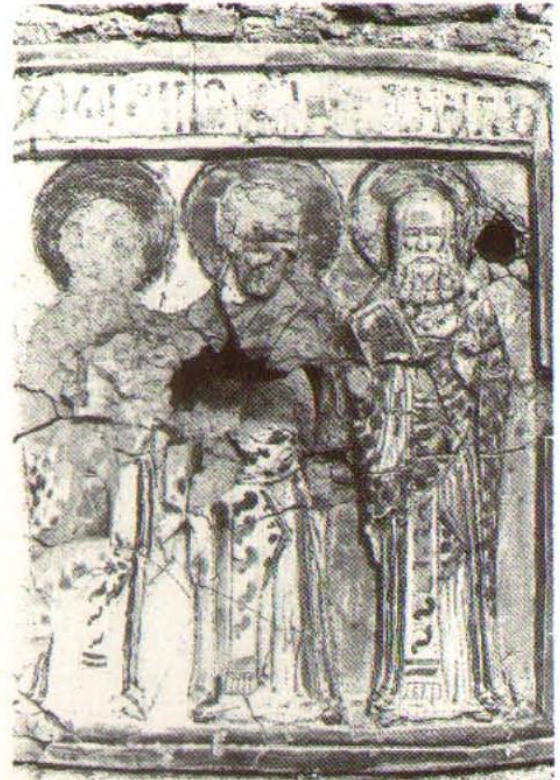
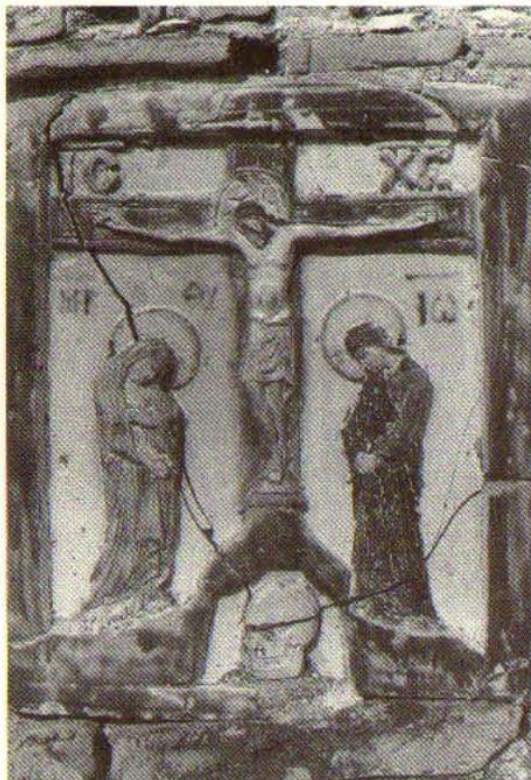


Figure 79 : The Church of Agios Basileos/Vasileos, detail from the north wall. (Papadopoulou, et. al 1993, 258).

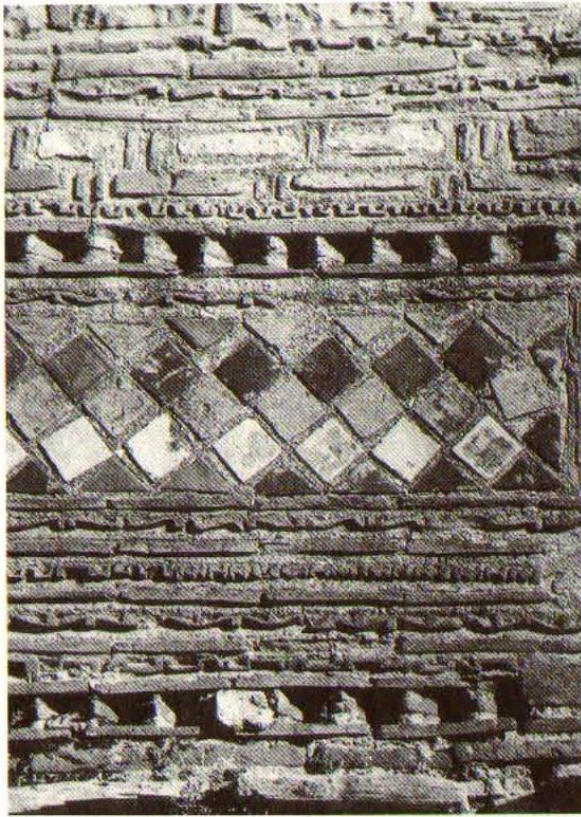


Figure 80 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Southern facade (Georgiadou, 2015 : 432).



Figure 81 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Plan and section (Georgiadou, 2015 : 433).

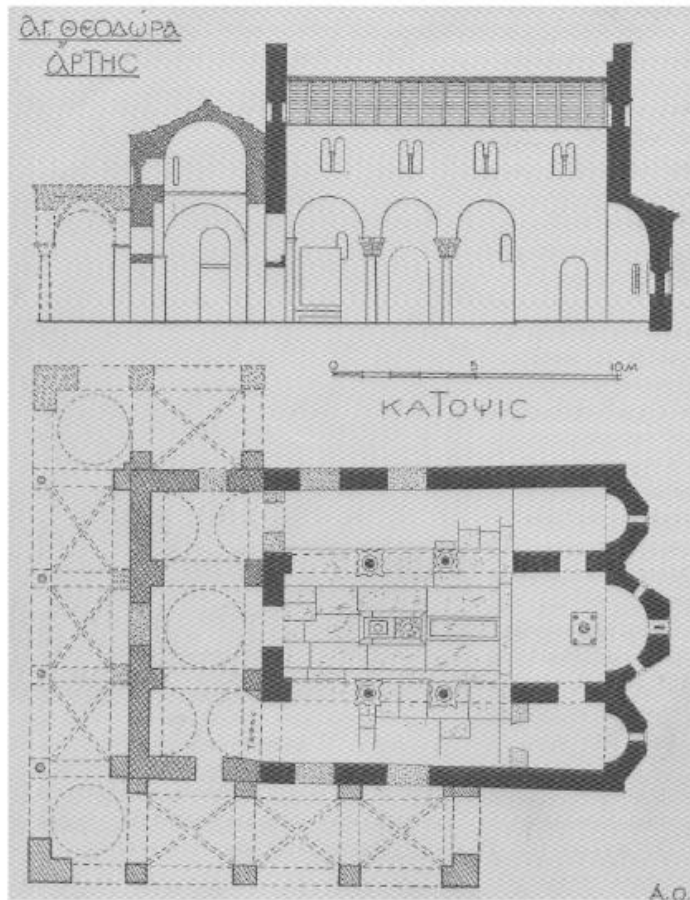


Figure 82 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Northwest view (Georgiadou, 2015 : 434).



Figure 83 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Eastern view (Georgiadou, 2015 : 434).



Figure 84 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. West facade (Georgiadou, 2015 : 436).



Figure 85 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Interior view towards the templon (Georgiadou, 2015 : 439).



Figure 86 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Interior view of naos (Georgiadou, 2015 : 440).



Figure 87 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. The tomb of St. Theodora (Georgiadou, 2015 : 441).



Figure 88 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. St. George ? on the vault of the diakonikon's apse (Georgiadou, 2015 : 442).



Figure 89 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. Battle between a centaur and a knight. (Georgiadou, 2015 : 443).



Figure 90 : The Church of Agia Theodora, Arta. The vision of St. Peter of Alexandria (Georgiadou, 2015 : 444).

